

ALL POWER TO THE
SOCIALIST
INDUSTRIAL UNION



1890
1940

GOLDEN JUBILEE



GOLDEN JUBILEE

of DE LEONISM

1890-1940

Commemorating the
Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Founding of the
Socialist Labor Party

Published by the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, OF AMERICA
1940



Little Roosevelt!!!—The Grand Old Party Must Be Hard Up!

The old belated party knights
Equip their hero for the fray—

Yes, they fought for equal rights,
Through all the nation's darkest day.

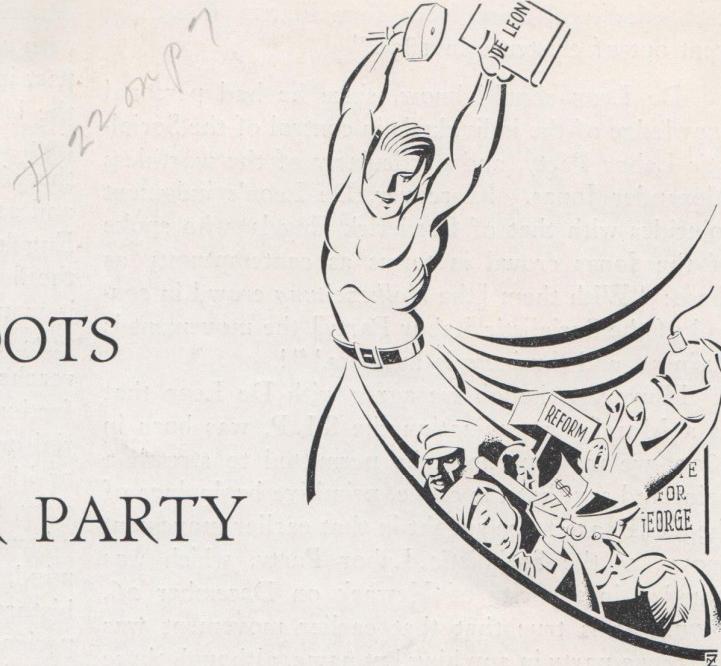
Their earlier steps would now retrace,
And bring the spoilsmen's slavery back—

Their only objects pay and place—
Their champion—a jumping-jack.

(Reproduced from "Puck.")

By ARNOLD PETERSEN

THE SOIL AND ROOTS of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY



Lil Bruce Meeson

THE history of the Socialist Labor Party is the history of working class development.—Thus wrote the author of a Socialist Labor Party booklet published in 1907 under the title, "American Industrial Evolution." The author of these lines expressed a truth greater and more significant than he probably realized. The statement is true in a twofold sense. First, in the sense that the Socialist Labor Party, since its inception, has been flesh and bone, so to speak, of the working class of America: the struggles of the American proletariat have been reflected in the history and activities of the Socialist Labor Party during the fifty years of its existence as a Marxian Socialist political organization, and each and every one of the assaults made upon the S.L.P., from whatever quarter, has been an assault upon the premises from which the working class must necessarily and inescapably proceed in order to achieve freedom. Secondly, in the sense that the intellectual development of the Socialist Labor Party reflects the crystallization of American labor as a class, with definite class interests, and with homogeneous class characteristics as distinguished from the interests and characteristics of the property-owning, or exploiting, class. In the measure that the economic mould of American industrial society has transformed American labor from its more primitive, individualized craft existence, into functioning as a highly coordinated, collectivized and thoroughly disciplined industrial body, in that same measure has the Socialist Labor Party grown and become transformed from the early uncertain, groping beginnings to its present existence as a sound, scien-

tific organization, definite as to purpose, certain as to means and measures, and as unvanquishable as the working class itself. The observation quoted becomes even more relevant if we include in the history of the Socialist Labor Party those early beginnings when it was known as the Socialistic Labor Party, though, as De Leon insisted, and as he might have phrased it, in the language of Shakespeare: The present S.L.P. is to its early forerunner as Hy- perion to a satyr!

Actually the present S.L.P. dates its existence from 1890, which is why this year we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the Party. In 1900 De Leon wrote:

"It is said, in a loose way, that the Socialist Labor Party is twenty and even more years old. The statement is, however, essentially false. There was no Socialist Labor Party until the campaign of 1890. It is from then the Party dates. What was before was a debating society, stamped with the characteristics of one Alexander Jonas, poltroonish, ignorant, pretentious and thoroughly alien, hating the country and its people, unable, in short, to do anything. It is since 1890 that the Socialist Labor Party dates its actual existence."

And again in 1903 De Leon repeated and amplified as follows:

"There was, before 1890, an organization by the name of Socialistic Labor Party. It went off and on into local elections. It was wholly controlled by the *Volkszeitung* and some other 'old timers,' who used

it to raise funds with from Tom Platt. The thing went out of existence in 1890."

De Leon should know, since he had personal knowledge of the individuals in control of the Socialistic Labor Party, and particularly of the worthless Alexander Jonas. Moreover, De Leon's judgment coincides with that of Frederick Engels, who spoke of the Jonas crowd in terms as contemptuous as these: "With them [the *Volkszeitung* crowd in control of the Socialistic Labor Party] the movement is business, and 'business is business.'!"

However, though we agree with De Leon that as a Marxian organization the S.L.P. was born in 1890, we may, perhaps, be permitted to stretch a point and say that the crude, primitive beginnings of the S.L.P. are to be sought in that earlier movement known as the Socialistic Labor Party, which was founded in the city of Newark on December 26, 1877. It is true that that earlier movement was scarcely a party in anything but name, although those in control were political actionists first, and trade unionists second, if at all, while the opposing element cared little or nothing about political action, but considered trade unionism the only thing really worth while. Yet, if from the suffix "ic" we may infer something apologetic—that is, that the Socialistic Labor Party wasn't really Socialist, or Marxist, but something aspiring to be such, or something that vaguely expressed the confused Utopian notions of the "radicals" of the day—if we so infer, and thus clearly acknowledge the fact of the crudeness of these early beginnings, I do not believe that in including these early beginnings as part of S.L.P. history, we shall do serious violence to the otherwise legitimate claim that the true S.L.P. as we now know it really *is* fifty, and not sixty-three years old this year!

Let us, then, briefly review the period which immediately preceded the nineties, and consider some of the events and struggles of this formative period in the history of the modern American Socialist movement. I do not intend to recite the familiar facts already recorded, except in passing, here and there, but to bring out a few not so familiar facts, and to sketch roughly the background of the Party, using such material as may seem relevant, picked from the records of the time, or from the byways, so to speak, of the period preceding the nineties.

II.

The fact which stands out strikingly above all others is that the Socialist Labor Party since 1890 has been a characteristically native product, a typical

American institution, as American as pumpkin pie or corn on the cob! One need not delve deeply into the past in order to verify this fact. It is stupid, to say the least, to maintain that Socialism is an importation, that because Marx and Engels were Germans therefore Socialism is a German product, and so on—and so forth. It is true, of course, that Marx and Engels gave Socialism its scientific basis. But, in the first place, if it had not been Marx and Engels it would have been some one else. All history attests that when social and economic development reaches certain heights, the needs that press for satisfaction are satisfied, and this applies to basic material or economic needs, as well as purely intellectual or ideological cravings. The history of human society, and of the human race, establishes beyond peradventure the fact of the oneness of the human mind, to use Morgan's phrase, or, as he put it, "the history of the human race is one in source, one in experience, and one in progress." Inventions and discoveries, he said, "tend to show . . . the uniformity of the operations of the human mind in similar conditions of society."

And so, if Marx and Engels, or some other European thinker, had not discovered and laid bare the scientific principles underlying Socialism, it would have been an American who would have made these discoveries, and in the light of our present knowledge and understanding we are justified in saying that the discoverer would probably have been the immortal Daniel De Leon, a thinker as American as anyone can be if we include the *Americas* in our concept of America.

Secondly, the struggles fought, and the aspirations voiced by American Labor, and the utterances of the early pioneers in the labor movement, establish the fact, as far as thought and language can do so, that the native American worker, once stirred into action, is as radical, as relentless, and as irreverent of traditions as any working class anywhere and at any time, if not more so. Long before Marx wrote and labored—indeed, while he was yet only a child—native-born American radicals voiced demands that today would send shivers up and down the spines of our plutocracy and their loyal poodles. We all recall the famous program formulated by Thomas Skidmore, and rationalized in his book published in 1829.* I quote this brief, characteristic passage from Skidmore's book to emphasize the point:

"Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its pos-

*"The Rights of Man to Property, etc."

sessors on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner...

"The steam-engine is not injurious to the poor, when they can have the benefit of it, and this, on supposition, being always the case, instead of being looked upon as a curse would be hailed as a blessing. If, then, it is seen that the steam-engine [as private property] for example is likely greatly to impoverish or destroy the poor, what have they to do, but to lay hold of it and make it their own? Let them appropriate also, in the same way, the cotton factories, the iron foundries, the rolling mills, houses ships, goods, steamboats, fields of agriculture, etc., etc., etc. . . . as is their right."

Surely, nothing could be more radical, or, rather, revolutionary, than that, and anyone expressing such sacrilegious words today would surely be denounced by the church as an enemy of religion, of the family and of our morals, and by the plutocracy as an alien agitator who should at least be deported to the place whence he came!

Moreover, the history of the American labor movement, long before Marxian principles were known or understood, is a history of strikes, mostly

violent; of rebellions against the State powers, and of contempt for laws if they stood in the way of the workers' achieving their objectives, which, by the way, were singularly modest as measured against present-day standards. Let us dismiss, then, this nonsense about Socialism and its demands being alien in origin and nature, and treat the subject in the manner of adults who are neither ashamed, nor yet too proud, of the childhood of our class and nation.

III.

The Civil War prepared the ground for the modern class struggle in America on a scale and in a manner unparalleled anywhere else. A predatory ruling class emerged, finding itself in possession of a continent, or at least found a continent ripe to be picked by it, with fabulous natural wealth, inexhaustible resources, and with a labor force at its command which, however transient, was forever replenished by the never-ending stream flowing into the country from Europe. Many, of course, continued westward, but hundreds of thousands settled in the eastern cities—in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and so forth, and, in the Middle West, in Chicago, notably—most of these being German, Irish and, later, Jewish immigrants. It is an amus-



"Puck's" Thanksgiving Dinner to the Destitute and Disappointed Politicians and Labor Agitators

(Note Father McGlynn's dejection and Henry George's baleful expression. This and all other reproductions from "Puck" appearing in this issue are from "Puck's" files for 1887.)

ing commentary upon the Socialism-is-an-importation notion that the most unruly and, on the whole, the most lawless among these newcomers were the Irish, despite the fact that they were more political-minded than the others, and despite the fact that so many of them later became minions of the law. As unruly rebels, and outstanding among those practising violence, these Irish proletarians (practically all of them devout Roman Catholics) put the more placid, and supposedly Socialist-tainted Germans entirely in the shade. We have no time to cite examples, but the Molly Maguires is but one concrete example of this lawlessness among supposedly God-fearing, church-loving and authority-respecting people!

It was in this environment, and largely among such elements, that the Socialistic Labor Party had to work. The movement was predominantly German, since many of the members were refugees from Germany, having fled from the persecutions of the Bismarck regime. At the head of the Socialistic Labor Party, organized in Newark sixty-three years ago, there was nevertheless a native American, a Phillip Van Patten, the National Secretary and, according to Commons and Associates, an active Socialist from 1876 to 1884. These eight years were among the stormiest in the formative period of the political movement of labor, ushering in the decade of violence and cruel repression of labor by the bloated, power-drunk and corrupt plutocracy that arose from the ruins of the Civil War. The Cleve-

land campaign of 1884, commencing this decade, was one of the high-lights in this period, the Hay-market tragedy of 1886 another. Grover Cleveland had become the darling of the middle and lower layers of the capitalist class—the same Cleveland who in 1894 was to prove that a “liberal,” even a “radical” capitalist President of the United States will respond as readily, if not more so, to the call of the plutocracy as to the demands of those who insured his election, whenever the interests of the capitalist class as a whole demand it. His promptness in sending troops into Chicago in 1894, over the protests of Governor Altgeld of Illinois, to crush the Pullman strike, proves the point.

However, during the seventies and early eighties the Socialistic Labor Party was continually torn with factional fights, and the greatest looseness in respect to organizational matters prevailed. Decisions of the Party as a whole would be openly flouted, now by this, now by that group, and heated discussions went on almost uninterruptedly for and against political action, for and against trade union activities, for and against Greenbackism, for and against anarchism (which, of course, had raised its ugly head), but nowhere was the line-up definite, no one took a clear stand on any question. Secessions were frequent and, although the Party Executive made a show of preserving some sort of discipline, it was quite incapable of enforcing decisions, if indeed it ever cared very much about doing so. A characteristic sidelight on this organizational looseness is given in the proceedings of the Sixth National Convention of the Socialistic Labor Party held at Buffalo in September, 1887. The convention adopted a resolution on Party members’ participating in the campaigns of other so-called labor parties, from which I quote:

“Resolved, To recommend to the members wherever one or more labor parties are in the field, to support that party which is the most progressive; that is, the platform and principles of which comes [sic] nearest to ours, and *at least recognizes the conflict between capital and labor*; but members shall not be permitted to participate in the founding of new parties, *when there is no well-founded reason to believe that the same shall fully recognize our principles.*” (Italics mine.)

This resolution might correctly have been labeled “A Resolution Affirming the Political Bankruptcy of the Socialistic Labor Party”! As we see, it was accepted quite as a matter of course that the members might support any other party they chose, just as long as they were satisfied that it was the “nearest to ours.” In Buffalo “nearest” might be ten miles,



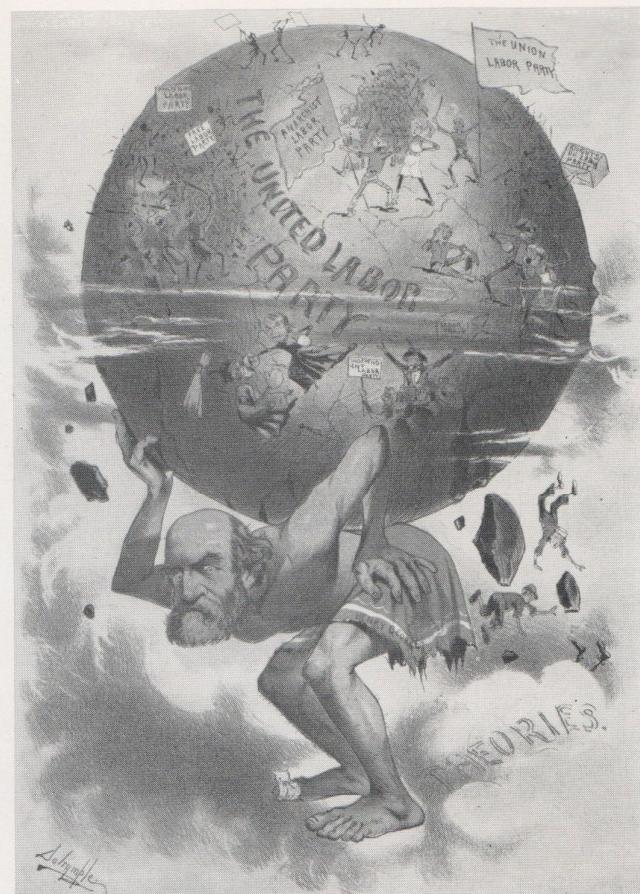
I Told You So!

PUCK: “German beer and Irish Whiskey will never mix!”

(“Puck’s” comment on the expulsion of the “Socialistic” representatives from the George-McGlynn “United Labor party.”)

in Chicago it might be a hundred miles, while in, say, St. Louis, "nearest" might be a thousand miles or more to the party's platform and "principles."!! It is true that the resolution also provided that where a local Section had endorsed a certain "political movement," the members were required to abide by the Section's decision, but we have no reason to suppose that the local Sections seriously attempted, or that they in fact were capable of compelling members, to abide by the Section's decisions in this respect. We note also with interest the innocuous phrase, "recognize the conflict between capital and labor," evidently intended as a veiled affirmation of the class struggle as the basis of the labor movement. But even this mild, and actually meaningless, phrase was challenged by a delegate who wanted to delete it. He finally withdrew his objection, apparently being assured that the phrase was intended to convey nothing that was not obvious on its face—that is, that there certainly were conflicts between capital and labor!

Incidentally, this political bankruptcy of the Socialistic Labor Party reminds one of the present status and attitude of the so-called Socialist party, which in recent years has gone around looking for "labor" parties where the hapless S.P. members might play political action more or less as they please. This is simply one more proof of the bankruptcy of the Norman Thomas party which thus, 52 years after the Socialistic Labor Party passed its resolution and after all the experience made during these many years, is reverting to the primitive tactics of the eighties, thus rounding the circle of fusion, confusion and compromise! But it is more than a proof of the bankruptcy of the reformistic and bourgeois Socialist party. It is proof also of the utter criminality of the attempt made forty years ago to destroy the Socialist Labor Party, proof of the utter futility, and worse, of the entire career and activities of the so-called Socialist party. By each and every one of the standards acclaimed by the Socialist party to prove that it was right and De Leonism wrong, the direct opposite has been established. The Socialist party, in point of its own theories, is exactly where it was forty years ago, and from the viewpoint of numbers, and the material success it claimed during at least the first two decades of its existence, it constitutes a monument of complete failure. It is idle to speculate, but surely in view of all that has happened, it is not unreasonable to assume that if the Socialist Labor Party had not been faced with tremendous handicaps during these many years of a bogus Socialist party, there might today be in this country a vastly better understanding of revolutionary Socialism and



A Tough Job for the Atlas of the Labor World

HENRY GEORGE: "If you fellows up there don't keep quiet, I shall have to drop the whole thing!"

(Pleased with the noisy dissension in the United Labor party
"Puck" ridicules the party and its leader.)

a far greater, numerically speaking, Socialist Labor Party. From any viewpoint, however, De Leonism has emerged as triumphantly as what we might call Hillquitism has subsided ignominiously. The crime of the Social Democratic politicians is equal at least to the crime of the present-day Stalinist corrupters of working class thought, and both have contributed in equal measure to the disruption of the revolutionary elements in this country, and to the prevention of the rise of a numerically powerful revolutionary Marxian movement.

IV.

But let us revert to the general situation as it prevailed in the eighties—that decade which by bourgeois writers has been called the "elegant eighties," but which more properly might be called the "'elendig' eighties"—that is, the eighties of working class misery and wretchedness. As we noted before, in the great eastern cities there had settled a large immigrant element, chiefly Irish and German.

The Irish were particularly audible, partly because they had the backing, of course, of the Catholic Church, and partly because many of them achieved leadership in labor unions. Since the forties, as a direct result of the cruel maltreatment of the Irish peasantry at the hands of the brutal British ruling class, thousands upon thousands had departed from the "auld sod," taking with them bitter memories of a ruined land, strewn with hundreds of thousands of corpses, the victims of evictions and the potato crop failures. As one historian tells us:

"In 1846 alone 50,000 families . . . were evicted for not paying their rents. Their huts were leveled to the earth and they were left to die. During those hunger years there was bountiful food in sight of the famine victims . . . [all of which was exported to England by the English absentee landlords]. The Irish peasants ate grass. They ate seaweed. They ate rotting potatoes. In the midst of plenty, at the door of the wealthiest nation in the world, 729,033 victims died . . . each death was a preventable death. Each death was due to causes over which mankind has control."

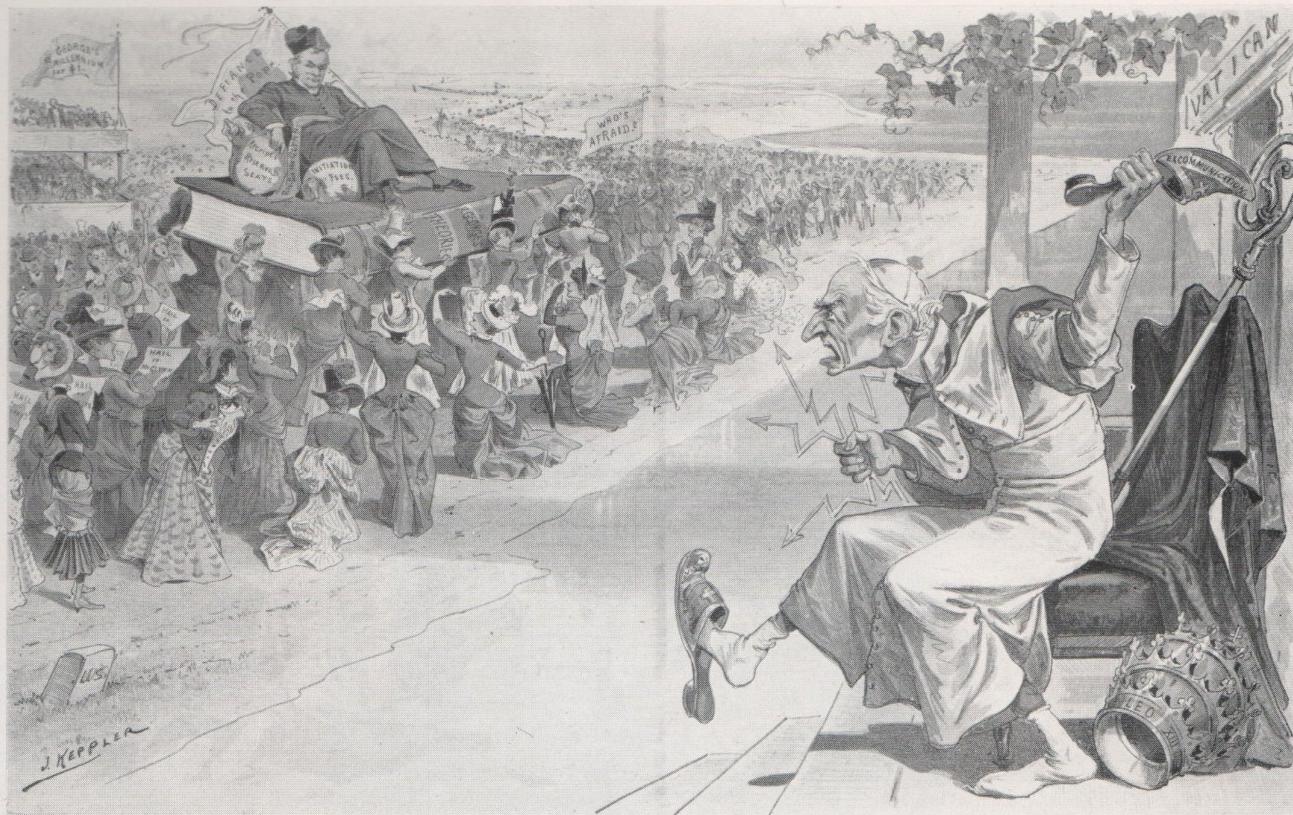
How familiar all this sounds. And nearly a hundred years later we witness a similar spectacle in this country, *now* "the wealthiest nation in the world." But the methods of the modern capitalist class are more refined. The ten million unemployed, and the millions partly employed, do not actually drop dead and rot in public sight. They do so quietly, decently, and only occasionally do individual cases of particularly dramatic horror reach the front pages of our newspapers.

However, as our historian points out, to the English ruling class "the famine seemed the act of God, or else the purging of overburdened nature." And he quotes the *London Times* of the day as saying that Ireland "is being cleared quietly for the interests and luxury of humanity"—by humanity we are to understand, of course, the brutal, cannibalistic ruling class of England!

It was this Ireland which during the forties and succeeding decades furnished a vast portion of the immigration to the United States, and it was these, and their immediate descendants, who, with their bitter memories, contributed so actively and vocally to the political ferment of the seventies and the eighties. As our Irish historian puts it: "It [i.e., "the agony of emigration"] transferred to the broad shoulders of the United States the burden of illiteracy and technical backwardness which had been created by bad English government." (More correctly our historian might have said, in the slightly para-

phrased language of Marx: which had been created through the "wholesale expropriation of the agricultural population from the soil," the British landlord and plutocratic class conquering "the field for capitalistic agriculture . . . [making] the soil part and parcel of capital . . . [creating for American] industries the necessary supply of 'free' and outlawed proletariat.")

In view of the chaos and confusion in the Socialistic Labor Party, the ranting of the anarchists and the futility of Greenbackism and similar movements, together with the presence of a large group of immigrants from a country where possession of land, however limited, was a passion; and backed as these latter were by a church reaching out for power, and determined to become one of the major forces in American public life—in view of all this, it is understandable why the Henry George movement should have proved such an amazing political success in the eighties. Not that the church itself endorsed the Henry George Single Tax idea—on the contrary, it was opposed by the hierarchy which naturally wanted to hold on to its already considerable land holdings which in time were to become vast—but many among the alert and articulate Irish immigrants, or the second generation, took to the idea, as did individual members of the Catholic clergy, notable among whom we find the famous Father McGlynn. (One of the most active members of the Irish Fenian movement, Michael Davitt, who visited America in 1878, became quickly converted to the Single Tax theory, and remained a friend and disciple of Henry George.) Henry George, however, was largely without an organization of his own. In August of 1886 a conference of various labor groups (including the Socialistic Labor Party) took place in New York City for the purpose of launching an independent campaign in behalf of labor. This movement was largely directed by the Central Labor Union. This body had been organized four years earlier as a result of a mass meeting which, according to Commons and Associates, had been called by one Robert Blissett, "a journeyman tailor and refugee from Ireland, 'for the purpose of sending greetings to the workers of Ireland in their struggle against English landlordism.'" That mass meeting, presided over by Phillip Van Patten, National Secretary of the Socialistic Labor Party, was dominated by the so-called Socialist element, and the declaration adopted followed the familiar pattern, and was, on the whole, remarkably clear in its pronouncements, viz., that "there can be no harmony between capital and labor under the present industrial system," giving the usual Socialist reasons, though perhaps not in the very clear terms



"Just You Wait!!"

(With none of the contemporary awe for the Roman Catholic Church—and no illusions concerning its political character—"Puck" taunted it unmercifully.)

of today. The resolution also urged unity of labor, without affiliation with capitalist parties, and stressed the international character of the revolutionary labor movement.

V.

It was this group, and affiliated bodies, which four years later met to nominate a labor candidate on a labor ticket. Because of his prominence, his supposed radicalism and idealism, the man selected as labor's candidate for mayor was Henry George. To us today there is something incredibly ludicrous in the thought that on a ticket of labor there could be placed as candidate this typically bourgeois pundit, this philistine whose crude, and often naive, notions of political economy might have fitted into an eighteenth or early nineteenth century environment, but which certainly fitted least of all the United States! Marx, discussing George's nostrums, pointedly queried: "How did it happen [George should have asked] that in the United States, where, relatively . . . the land was accessible to the great mass of the people and to a certain degree (again relatively) still is [i.e., in 1881], capitalist economy and the cor-

responding enslavement of the working class have developed more rapidly and shamelessly than in any other country!"

In other words, here was a continent with land aplenty, still available, on pioneer terms, to anyone desiring it, thus fulfilling the condition demanded in George's naive theory, and therefore, according to Georgeism, presenting the *de facto* establishment of what George and his successors and followers call economic freedom. George, of course, did not perceive the flaw in his reasoning, namely, that although land obviously is basic, it is no more so than water or air or the sun's power. Therefore, for George to talk about land being the basic element made no more sense than if he had said that water or air was basic. In the given social premises land *and* the means of production are basic—the one useless without the other. Whence it follows that land as well as the socially needed tools of production must be owned in common. If George had asked himself the questions posed by Marx, and pondered the possible answers, he might, granted the possession of the requisite intellect and ability to reason logically, have

(Continued on page 41.)

"When First We Met"

By BERTHA C. DE LEON.*

MY meeting with De Leon was, seemingly, the sheerest accident—or was it, as we liked to think, destiny, or a miracle, that led to the crossing of our paths, when so many probable occurrences might have prevented the meeting?

Early in 1891, the N.E.C. [of the Socialist Labor Party] sent De Leon on a cross-country tour as National Organizer. Just before leaving for the trip he met a casual acquaintance on the street, who, upon learning of the proposed tour, said: "Be sure to go to Independence, Kansas. I have a brother who was recently pastor of the town's Congregational Church and there are a few radicals he knew who might become the nucleus of a Section. I'll give you some names." One was the name of a house-painter and the other was mine, a teacher in the public schools of the town.

Kansas at this time, in common with the Middle West in particular, and the United States in general, was in an economic and political ferment, and seething with discontent and anger. Mary Elizabeth Lease was ranging the prairies, eloquently advising the farmers to "raise less corn and more hell," which was about all the Populists ever did do politically, and that was not really of a very high temperature, though the political fundamentalists thought it ex-

tremely hot and felt many misgivings about the "re-volt."

In Independence, an incongruous group, an early miniature "popular front," so to speak, led and taught by the minister mentioned before, had got a glimmer of Marx, or at least of the class struggle, which was such bitter medicine to many that they hesitated to take it. The ideas they found in the "Christian Socialist" magazine and Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," then being read by hundreds of thousands who were groping for light and hope, were more palatable to most of them.

Whatever the weaknesses of our "Christian Socialist" Club, most of its members thought it very radical indeed, and so did many others. Politicians of the town and county, together with the comparatively wealthy, salary-paying members of the church, aided, abetted and driven by the orthodox and conventional of the various other

churches in town before long had shoved the "bold" pastor out of his church and the vicinity, and it followed that by the spring of '91 our erstwhile "brave and radical" "Christian Socialist" Club had breathed its last.

De Leon crossed the country to San Francisco; he was returning and was in Kansas. A meeting at Lawrence having fallen through, he decided to visit Independence, though it was not on his schedule. Seeking the house-painter and finding that he was out of town, he reluctantly enough turned to the public school teacher who, he feared, would not be much of a Socialist.

He reached my home late in the day. It was



*With the permission of Mrs. Bertha C. De Leon, we are publishing here for the first time the first instalment of her memoirs of her famous husband. The story by Mrs. De Leon brings not only a beautifully poignant and intimate glimpse of a very personal incident in the life of a great man, but also a glimpse into an age that now almost seems as remote as that of the beginning of the country—an age also which happens to be the very beginning of the Socialist Labor Party's fifty years' history. To add more by way of introduction would constitute an intrusion.

Thursday, April 23, a heavenly, lilac-scented evening. I was in the garden when my young brother came out, calling, "Visitor to see you."

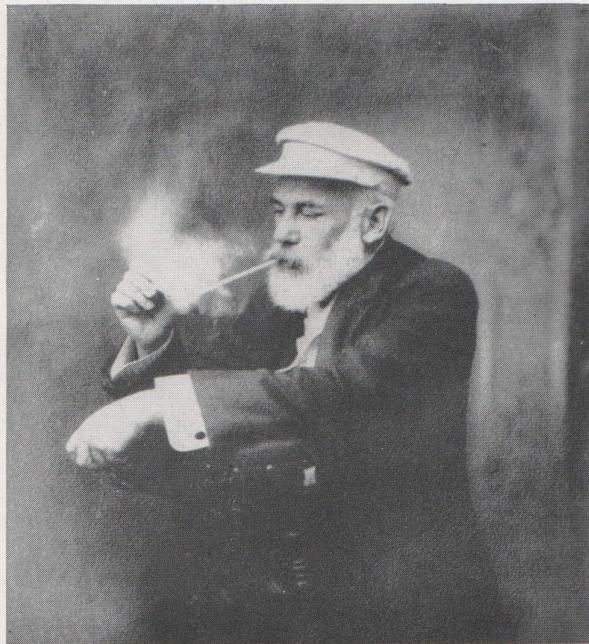
I went in and as I entered the room and our eyes met in the instant before either could speak, each said within, "I am yours and you are mine." Self-introductions followed and I was surprised and delighted to meet the author of the "Voice of Madison," perhaps the one solid article that had appeared in "The Nationalist," but I had never heard of the much more important WEEKLY PEOPLE.

We spent a pleasant hour and decided that the public meeting would have to be just the people I could get together in my home by personal invitation the coming Saturday evening. Twelve or fifteen people came and seemed very much interested, but

no organization resulted. The class struggle, when pinned up boldly and starkly, where all who run may read, was altogether too much for them.

De Leon left town the next day, but not without a thrust at our early Kansas prohibition. He declared that the only difference between "wet" New York and "dry" Kansas was that in New York liquor was bought in a saloon, whereas in Kansas it was bought in a millinery store.

A correspondence between us followed and on June 10, 1892, we were married at the home of a former schoolmate of mine in South Norwalk, Connecticut, by the "radical" minister, and, the air being "rosy and full of violins," we began our song of songs that was to last until De Leon's untimely death nearly twenty-two years later.



J. De Leon



Satire, Weapon of Truth

By ERIC HASS.

SATIRE is the exclusive weapon of truth. In the hands of Falsehood it is as useless as a gun with a rubber barrel. "Truth is quite beyond the reach of satire," wrote James Russell Lowell. "There is so brave a simplicity in her, that she can no more be made ridiculous than an oak or a pine." And from the days of the Greek and Roman satirists, men of Truth have "winged their polished darts" at error, themselves immune to its sharp barb. Read the satires of Juvenal, Horace, of Persius—who struck the highest note in Roman satire—and you will read the history of the errors of their age.

Satirists have, it is true, indulged in rancorous attacks on Truth and in good-natured persiflage, but the former were savorless even to their times, and the latter, history, in her discriminating wisdom, failed to record.

The thrusts which are long remembered are not only those which are aimed at error, but those aimed at error of consequence. For it is not enough that a thing be wrong to be subject for satire. It must also be important.

"Satire's my weapon, but I'm too discreet
To run amuck and tilt at all I meet"—

sang the celebrated English poet, Alexander Pope.

And when Horace said the mountain labored and brought forth a mouse, he did not mean that the mouse was important, but that it became so by the mighty expectations which the pompous delivery occasioned. Moreover, a jest which will not bear serious examination is false wit. Gravity is the proper test of ridicule, said the Greek rhetorician, Gorgias. By the same token ridicule is the proper test of gravity; even as the test rule of addition is subtraction, and subtraction of addition.

How easily ridicule demolishes false argument is demonstrated by the story of an Oxford scholar, who, on the occasion of a Christmas visit to his home, declaimed on the art of logic which he defined

as the art of making people believe whatever he pleased. To demonstrate, he pointed to two mince pies which had been placed on the table. "I will prove," said the scholar to his parents, "that there are three mince pies. Now you will grant me this one," he continued pointing to the pie on the left. "Yes," replied his puzzled paternal parent half expecting a feat of magic. "And this is two," said the scholar, pointing to the pie on the right. "No doubt," rejoined his parent. "Why, then," the young Plato triumphantly exclaimed, "if you put one and two together, they make three!" "Wonderful!" cried the father. "You, my dear wife, shall take one pie, I another, and Tom shall have the third to encourage him in the pursuit of such excellent studies."

Obviously, had the scholar contented himself with proving that two pies and one made three, he might have defied all the ridicule of Rabelais.

Thus, satirists have tilted at error, conscious of their power to aid Truth. The American humorist, Artemus Ward, who eagerly sought to awaken mirth and laughter, was profoundly conscious that he aimed beyond fleeting emotion, at the heart and the mind. Of the mission of the humorist he once soberly wrote:

"Humorous writers have always done the most toward helping virtue on its pilgrimage, and the truth has found more aid from them than from all the grave polemists and solid writers that have ever spoken or written. It was always so, and men have borne battle for the right, with its grave truth fully in mind, with an artillery of wit, that has silenced the heavy batteries of formal discussion. They have helped the truth along without encumbering it with themselves. They have put it boldly forward and stood behind it and hurled their fiery javelins at their opponents till they have either fled ingloriously or been entirely silenced. Rabelais—vile fellow as he was and revolting to modern propriety and taste—did immense work for the reform that began contemporaneously with him, and from Rabelais down

the shaft of ridicule has done more than the cloth-yard arrows of solid argument in defending the truth. Those who bolster up error and hate the truth are still men and slow; men with no warm blood; men who hate levity and the ebullitions of wit; who deprecate a joke of any kind, and run mad at a pun. Like Dominie Sampson, they can fire pointblank charges, but the warfare of flying artillery annoys them. They can't wheel and charge and fire, and the attack in flank and rear by the light troops drives them to cover."

And of his own "ebullitions of wit" he wrote:

"....I have always meant the creatures of my burlesques should stab Error and give Right a friendly push."

* * *

As the purveyor of Falsehood is denied the use of satire in his struggle with Truth, the exponent of Truth is constrained to reject the ignoble weapons of falsehood. He cannot lie, slander, distort or resort to sophistry. With facts he must bombard the enemy's position, and with logic undermine it. But deadly though his facts and logic are, they become even more lethal when accompanied by satire.

What is more natural, then, than for Socialism, the synthesis of sociological and economic Truth, to utilize this weapon in its exposure of that compendium of evils, capitalism. And with satire it does more than expose—it holds capitalism and its apologists up to dread derisive laughter and rouses in the breasts of the classconscious proletariat an invigorating sense of exultation.

The great American Socialist pathfinder, Daniel De Leon, whose biting wit rarely failed to arouse anger in the weak as it fired the strong, once answered a critic through the "Letter Box" of the PEOPLE:

"Satire is a powerful weapon. No movement may throw the weapon aside without injury to its arsenal. As satire has its strength in facts, otherwise concealed, that it brings home, only sound movements and thoughts can forge the weapon. It were folly to leave such a valuable weapon unused because of the lack of intelligence of some to appreciate it."

And De Leon used this weapon for all it was worth, laughing pedantry, affectation, sophistry and error into the lowest degrees of contempt. In speeches, in editorials, in the "Letter Box" and in the gravest discussions, De Leon unlimbered his artillery of wit. Examples are to be found in almost any of his published works but we shall mention one or two here.

What American Socialist has not roared with laughter as he read the tale of Tom Watson, the Jeffersonian Democrat on the Socialist Gridiron, one of De Leon's most delightful, humorous and, withal, profound polemics? It was an evil day for Tom Watson, editor of *The Jeffersonian* and *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine*, when, armed cap-a-pie, he strutted into the arena snorting all sorts of threats and challenges against Socialism. Never was error spitted more neatly and never did the apologist for capitalism beat a more ignominious retreat. But to appreciate this performance one must read it for himself, for the humor cannot be separated from De Leon's matchless Marxian logic.

In the "Letter Box" of the PEOPLE De Leon let fly many a barbed shaft. His accuracy is best judged by the howls of impotent rage which emanated from the camp of the enemy whose boundless hate for De Leon is as great today as when that towering Marxist strung his bow. For when De Leon demolished their theories he, not infrequently, encroached upon their material interests, exposing the rackets and fake movements by which they lived.

Examples of De Leon's wit as exhibited in the "Letter Box" are almost numberless. We content ourselves by reproducing only a few selected, more or less, at random. To a correspondent who was intrigued by the idea of sick and death benefits, he wrote:

"Put your thinking cap on. Can aught be more grotesquely absurd than the expectation of a manly, revolutionary posture on the part of a man whose horizon is bounded by his coffin, and whose conduct is controlled by his anxiety to keep that coffin safe? The unions that set up coffin benefits produce such beings."

And in reply to a query concerning Max Hayes, whom De Leon continually referred to as "her" and "she," to the maddening discomfiture of that would-be socialist and faker, De Leon replied:

"What answer Max Hayes made to the exposure of her false statement that wages had gone up? Let's think!—Oh, yes, she answered that De Leon had drowned his grandmother, or something equally to the point, truthful and conclusive."

And, indeed, the creatures who did not reply to De Leon's logic with slander were few. But there were some who were willing to admit that De Leon was right, and that the PEOPLE was thoroughly Marxist, but who hated De Leon and the S.L.P nonetheless.

"An enemy of the S.L.P. may recognize the

PEOPLE as 'a prime educator,'" wrote De Leon, "—but he will never be educated by it. Were he capable of education he would not be an enemy. Such folks generally have a screw loose—they recognize that $2+2=4$; they admire the close reasoning that proves it;—but they hold to the lingering hope that, after all, $2+2$ may make 22 —in other words that sunbeams may proceed from cucumbers."

And "such folks" usually returned to the lists, either with their old shoddy wares or new schemes with which to delude and confuse the workers. Some seemed as incapable of smarting under the volleys of wit which riddled their arguments as they were of learning from facts, reason and logic.

"No creature smarts so little as a fool.
Destroy his fib or sophistry—in vain!
The creature's at his dirty work again."

* * *

Nowhere in all the literature of Socialism is wit appreciated by the student as much as in Marx's epic analysis of capitalist economics, "Capital." Here the founder of scientific Socialism meets sundry opponents with their fetishisms and specious contentions—Senior's "last hour," the so-called "labor fund" theory, the alleged "abstinence" of the capitalists, etc.—tearing their empiricisms to bits. So thorough is the job done that the most robust mind following the attack step by step feels the effects of mental exertion. But this fatigue is banished, the wearied mind exhilarated, by the rapier-like thrusts with which Marx delivers the *coup de grace*.

The "economist," Nassau W. Senior, is the offender for whom Marx reserved his most ironic scorn. This vulgar doctrinaire had the doubtful honor of having fathered at Manchester both the strange contention that the profit of capital is the product of the last hour of the twelve-hour working day, and the sycophantic phrase, "abstinence," which was supposed to explain the disparate riches in the hands of the virtuous few. In dealing with this latter argument, Marx exposes its fallaciousness with the following *reductio ad absurdum*:

"All the conditions for carrying on the labor-process are suddenly converted into so many acts of abstinence on the part of the capitalist. If the corn is not all eaten, but part of it also sown—abstinence of the capitalist. If the wine gets time to mature—abstinence of the capitalist.... How the capitalists as a class are to perform that feat, is a secret that vulgar economy has hitherto obstinately refused to

divulge. Enough, that the world still jogs on, solely through the self-chastisement of this modern penitent of Vishnu, the capitalist. Not only accumulation, but the 'simple conservation of capital requires a constant effort to resist the temptation of consuming it.' The simple dictates of humanity therefore plainly enjoin the release of the capitalist from this martyrdom and temptation, in the same way that the Georgian slave-owner was lately delivered, by the abolition of slavery, from the painful dilemma, whether to squander the surplus-product lashed out of his niggers, entirely in champagne, or whether to reconvert a part of it, into more niggers and more land."

The limits of the present sketch forbid more exhaustive exploration of Marx's works for additional examples of his wit. The writings of Frederick Engels must also be passed over for a time, even though this brilliant Socialist and polemist has left us, interspersed in his profound writings, a rich legacy of salty satire. But we cannot ignore the Frenchman, Paul Lafargue. Of those we have mentioned he alone merits the title, "Socialist satirist." Marx, Engels, De Leon, et al., capable though they were of devastating wit, used satire sparingly. Lafargue, on the contrary, has written *satires*, i.e., whole works which intensify the incongruities of capitalism. Notable among these are his devastating "Religion of Capital" and the volume bearing the strange title: "For Sale: An Appetite." In the latter volume Lafargue ridicules the gluttony of the rich as no other author has ridiculed it, and yet between the lines one finds a true and accurate picture of a system almost cannibalistic in its class relationships—a system in which the insatiable appetite of the ruling class feeds on the growing misery of the ruled.

* * *

In this solemn hour, when the world is engulfed in the chaos capitalism has been steadily tending toward for decades, satire is more than ever useful to the cause which will ultimately restore order and peace. The motley mixture of reform aspirations—ideas many believed were swallowed in the past but which are now regurgitated by a dying social order—offer a multitude of targets both for the lightly feathered shafts of satire and grinning broadsides of wit. With writer's pen and caricaturist's crayon, Socialism supplements its heavy artillery of logic and facts, conscious that its missiles smart and rout the enemy as they invigorate and attract the friend.



A History in Caricature

*Selected Cartoons
from the
WEEKLY PEOPLE*



Weekly People, September 4, 1915

HOW MUCH ON THE HOOF?

Trade unions have been marching, listening to speeches, passing resolutions on the dignity of labor, shouting defiance to the world, etc., for a goodly number of Labor Days, but they have marched no nearer a betterment of the conditions of the working class than that which existed when Labor

Day was first graciously granted them by the capitalist class. It has lost all the significance it was supposed to possess when first instituted, and today is simply the annual exhibit of political goods.

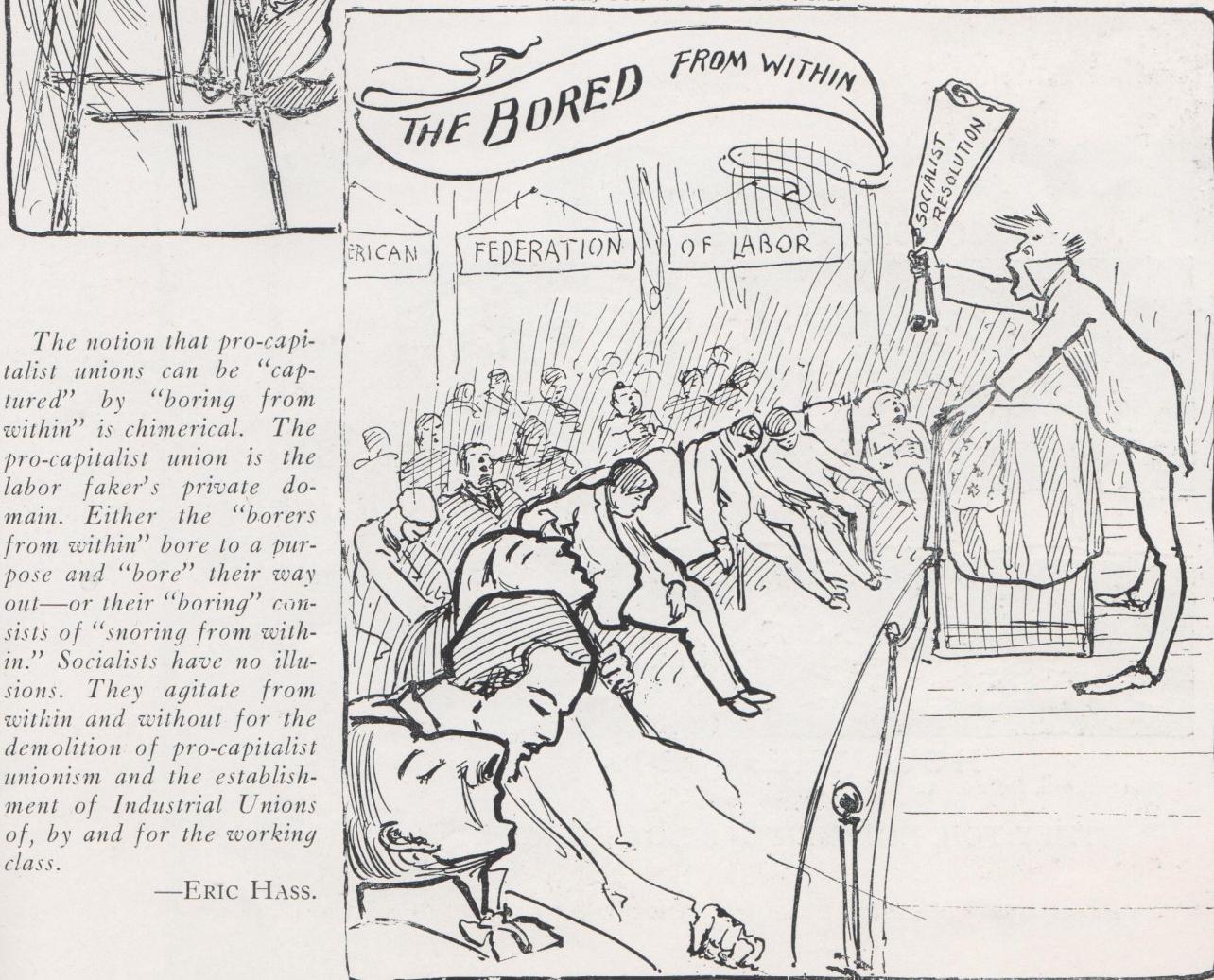
—DE LEON.



Weekly People, September 19, 1919

The labor faker has no real ambition. He is a cynic. He does not seek to be what you so neatly say "if but a fly on the fifth wheel of government," so that he may have some glory. Not he. Poltroonery, the poltroonery of the sow in quest of garbage, is his characteristic. He may know nothing of the laws of physics. Intuitively, however, his sow soul knows that the club of power is felt less heavily by him who is close to those who wield it. He therefore tries to get as close as he can to the capitalists, not in search of glory, but in search of surcease of blows for his wretched carcass.

—DE LEON.



The notion that pro-capitalist unions can be "captured" by "boring from within" is chimerical. The pro-capitalist union is the labor faker's private domain. Either the "borers from within" bore to a purpose and "bore" their way out—or their "boring" consists of "snoring from within." Socialists have no illusions. They agitate from within and without for the demolition of pro-capitalist unionism and the establishment of Industrial Unions of, by and for the working class.

—ERIC HASS.

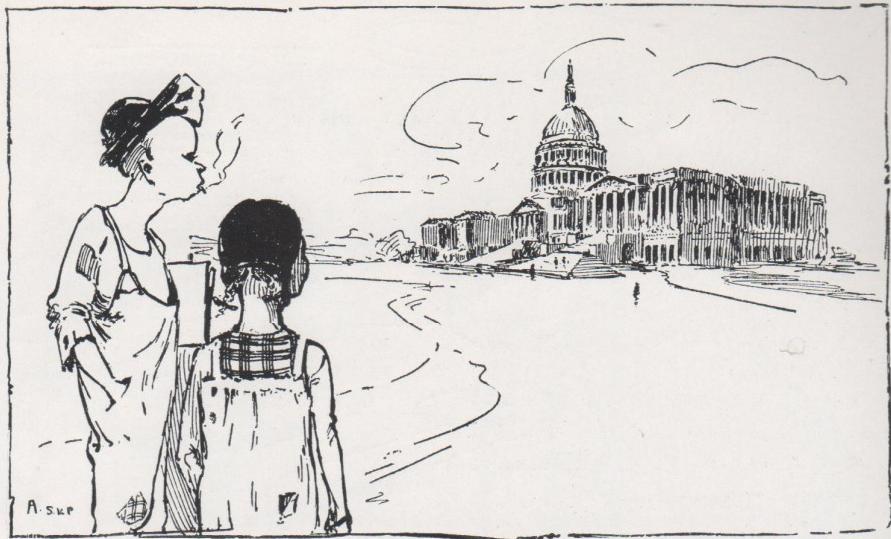
The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

—COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

*

Today only crass political ignorance can imagine that bourgeois life must be held together by the State. The truth is that the State is held together by bourgeois life.

—KARL MARX.



Weekly People, May 10, 1917

THE INNOCENT—"What's it called the Capitol for?"

THE WISE ONE:—"Cause it's run for Capitalists, of course."

"CONSIDER THE LILIES"



Weekly People, December 12, 1917

THEY TOIL NOT, NEITHER DO THEY SPIN

....by 1929 the situation had become such that, according to no fewer than six surveys by conservative economic agencies, three-fifths of the nation's material wealth was owned by two percent of the citizens.

—FERDINAND LUNDBERG

Given the private ownership of combined elements of production, and the capitalist class will congest ever more into its own hands the wealth of the land, while the working class must sink to ever deeper depths of poverty and dependence, every mechanical improvement only giving fresh impetus to the exaltation of the capitalist class and to the degradation of the workingman.

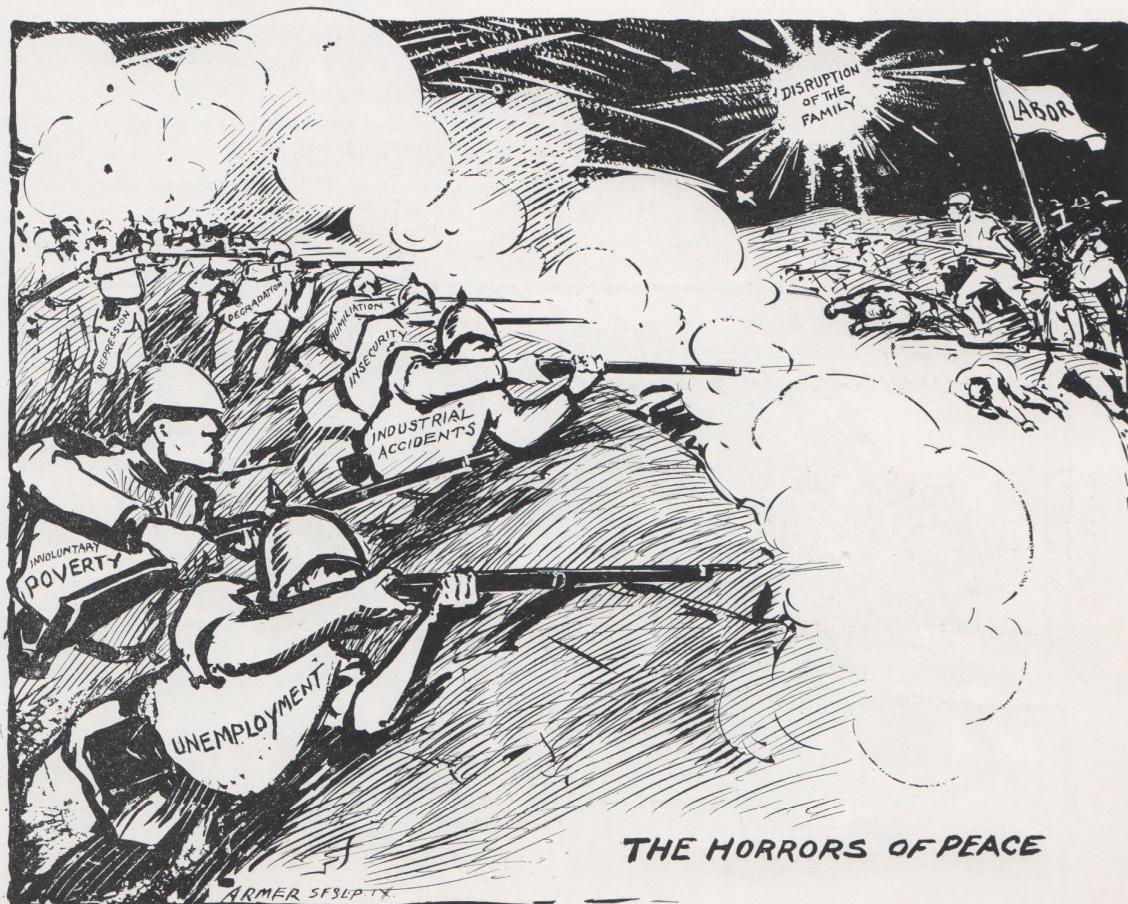
The issues between the two classes is one of life and death; there are no two sides to it; there is no compromise possible. Obviously, it is in the interest of the working class that the issue be made and kept clear before the eyes of the rank and file, and that capitalism be held up to their view in all its revolting hideousness.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, September 19, 1914

"HELLO, SUCKER!"



Weekly People, December 12, 1914



Weekly People, March 24, 1917

FIRST WORLD WAR.

That after the most tremendous war of modern times the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of the classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out in civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are one as against the proletariat!

—KARL MARX.



Weekly People, March 24, 1917



CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY.

Bourgeois democracy [is] a very limited, a very hypocritical institution, a paradise for the rich and a trap and a delusion for the exploited and poor.

—LENIN.

So long as the ruled class does not feel its historic mission to overthrow the ruling class throb in its veins, the veil of democracy is kept unlifted from the face of the rulers.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, November 14, 1914



Weekly People, May 6, 1916

Weekly People, December 16, 1922



There is no such thing as patriotism in the heart of capitalism; "patriotism," with capitalists, is a swindle, and when workingmen are caught by the trick, it is a case of ignorance with them, not patriotism.

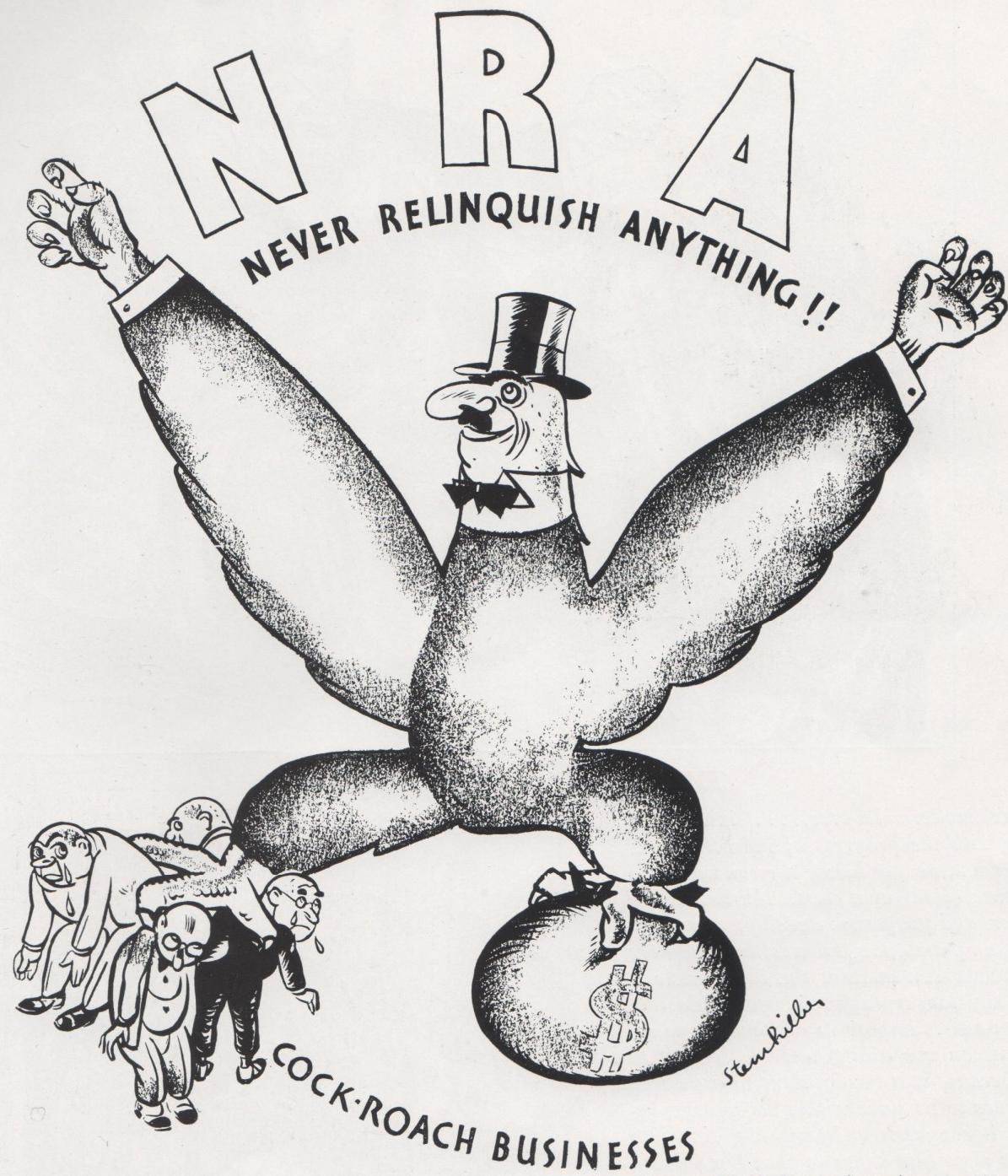
—DE LEON.

It is no figure of speech, no fanciful thought, that the world today, is one broad slave-band, ruled over by one despot, whose name may vary according to difference in language—"Mikado" in one place, and Capitalist Commerce in another—Abuse in all.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, December 16, 1922



Weekly People, September 16, 1933

NATIONAL RETROGRESSION ACT.

The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices and inequalities as arise from it.... "The voice of great events is proclaiming to us—reform if you would preserve."

—FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT.

Give us a truce with your "Reforms." There is a sickening air of moral mediocrity in all such petty movements of petty, childish aspirations at times like these, when gigantic man-issues are thundering at every door for admission and solution.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, December 24, 1932

THERE AIN'T NO SANTA CLAUS

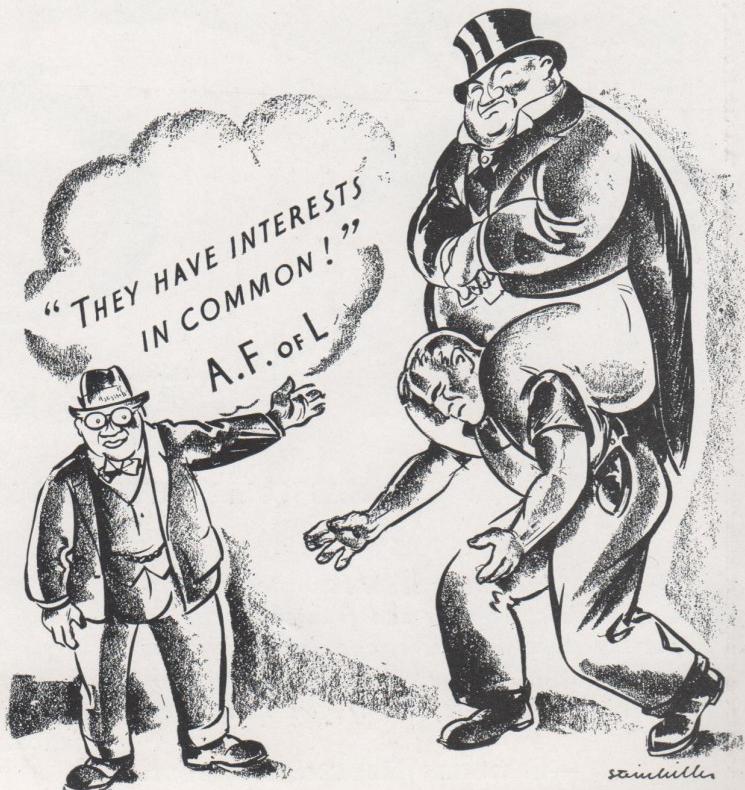
The modern laborer, . . . instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society and to impose its existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him.

—COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

*

To say that the interests of capital and the interests of the workers are identical signifies only this, that capital and wage-labor are two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other in the same way that the usurer and the borrower condition each other.

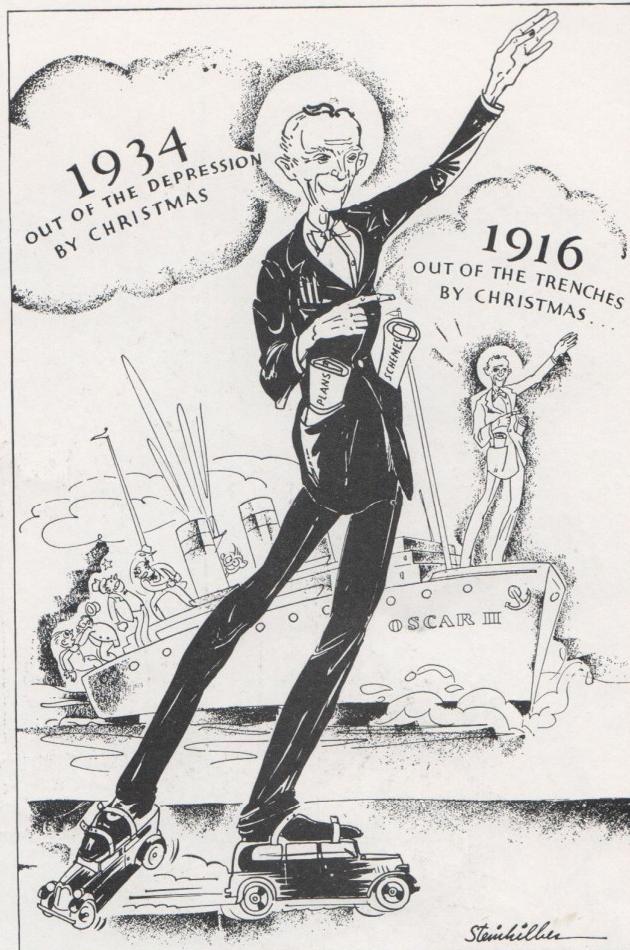
—KARL MARX.



Weekly People, October 28, 1933

The problem of unemployment reflects itself in confusion in the minds of the capitalist class. We have, for example, this gem from the would-be philosopher of Dearborn, Michigan, Henry Ford: "The only way to hire more men," said Ford, "is to create more markets. The men with new jobs will furnish new markets. The difficulty as far as industry is concerned is finding a place to employ the men before the market exists to make their employment profitable." One can only ask, "Which comes first, the chicken or the egg?" and remember Marx's classic observation, that "on the level plains simple mounds look like hills, and the imbecile flatness of our present bourgeoisie is to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects."

—ERIC HASS.



Weekly People, December 1, 1934



Weekly People, January 31, 1931

Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, "what to do with the unemployed"; but while the number of unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question; and we can almost calculate the moment when the unemployed, losing patience, will take their own fate into their own hands. Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a lifelong study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England [and by parity of reasoning the United States] is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means. He certainly never forgot to add that he hardly expected the English ruling classes to submit, without a "pro-slavery rebellion," to this peaceful and legal revolution.

—FREDERICK ENGELS.



Weekly People, September 7, 1935

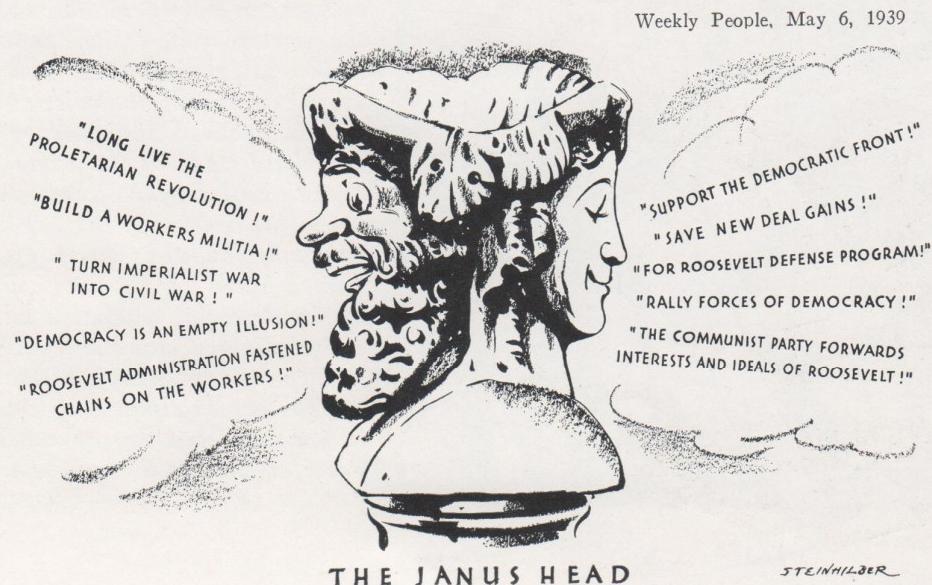
The Communist party opposes with all its power and will help to crush by democratic means any clique, group, faction, circle or party—from within or without—which acts to undermine, overthrow or subvert any democratic institution of the American people.

—EARL BROWDER.

*

It was without a compeer among swindles. It was perfect, it was rounded, symmetrical, complete, colossal.

—MARK TWAIN.



THE JANUS HEAD

STEINHILDER

The governing classes do not really want war; but they do want to keep up a continual menace of war. They want the peril to be always averted, but always present. They do not want the cannon to be fired, but they do want it to be always loaded. Those who perpetually spread abroad rumors and alarms of war only half believe them, or more often do not believe them at all, but they see great advantages to themselves in inducing the people to believe them. You know, comrades, what those advantages are. They are political and financial. A people living under the perpetual menace of war and invasion is very easy to govern. It demands no social reforms. It does not haggle over expenditures on armaments and military equipment. It pays without discussion, it ruins itself, and that is an excellent thing for the syndicates of financiers and manufacturers for whom patriotic terrors are an abundant source of gain.

—ANATOLE FRANCE.



Weekly People, December 17, 1938



Weekly People, March 18, 1939

The Communist party of the U.S.A. for the first time in its existence has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take a positive attitude toward armaments.

—EARL BROWDER.

(Speaking at the 15th anniversary of Lenin's death.)

The attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward anti-militarism is—"Organize the working class integrally-industrially!" Only then can the revolt against militarism result in a Waterloo to the [parasitic capitalist] class of sponge, instead of a massacre to the class of labor.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, September 2, 1939

The common designation of "Labor" that clings to the labor leader, and which he is zealous to cultivate, does for the labor leader what the common designation of "plebeian" did for the plebs leader: it covers him, along with the toiling and fleeced wage slaves in the shops, mills and yards, placing him before these in the light of "fellow workingman." In this instance, as in that of the plebs leaders, the people—capitalists as well as proletarians—generally fall victim to the delusion, a delusion that, just as in the instance of the plebs leader, the labor leader alone remains free from. Accordingly, in this instance, as in that of the plebs leader, the common delusion arms the labor leader with the club wherewith to wrench from the capitalist class safety for HIMSELF.

—DE LEON.



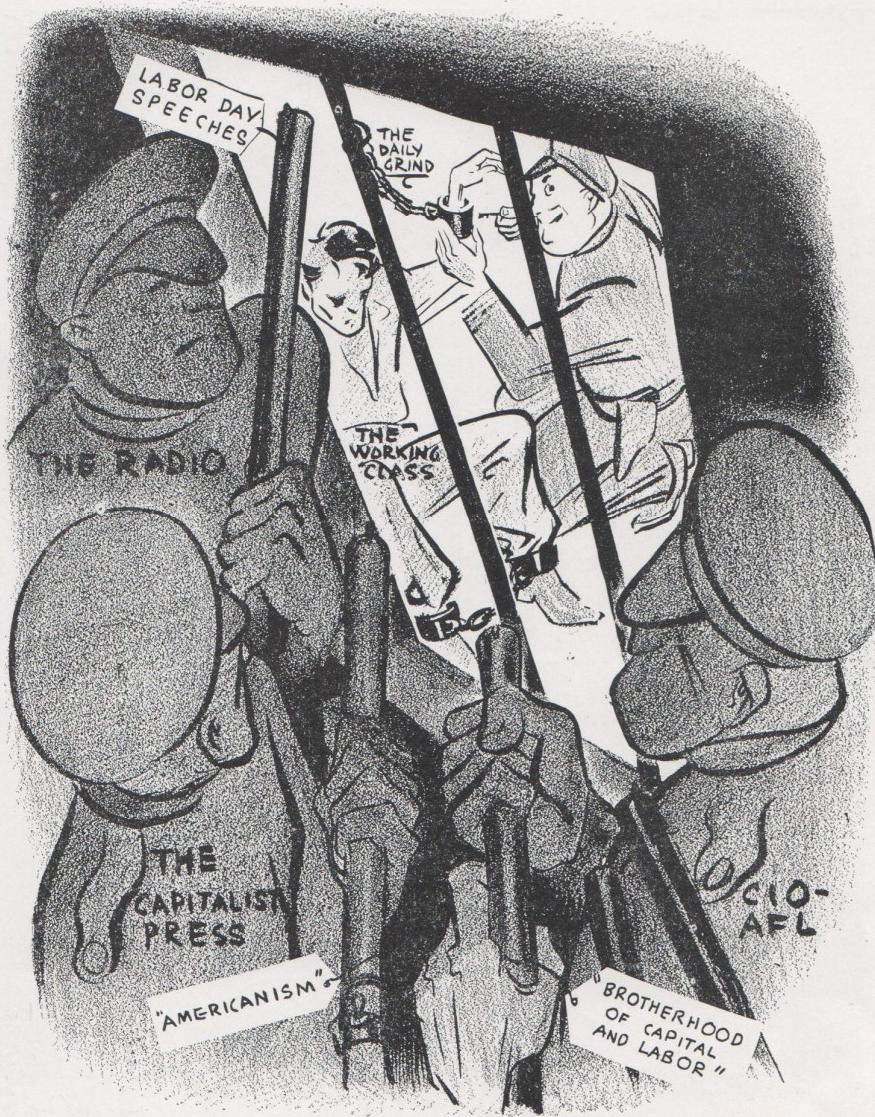
Weekly People, March 11, 1939

LABOR DAY

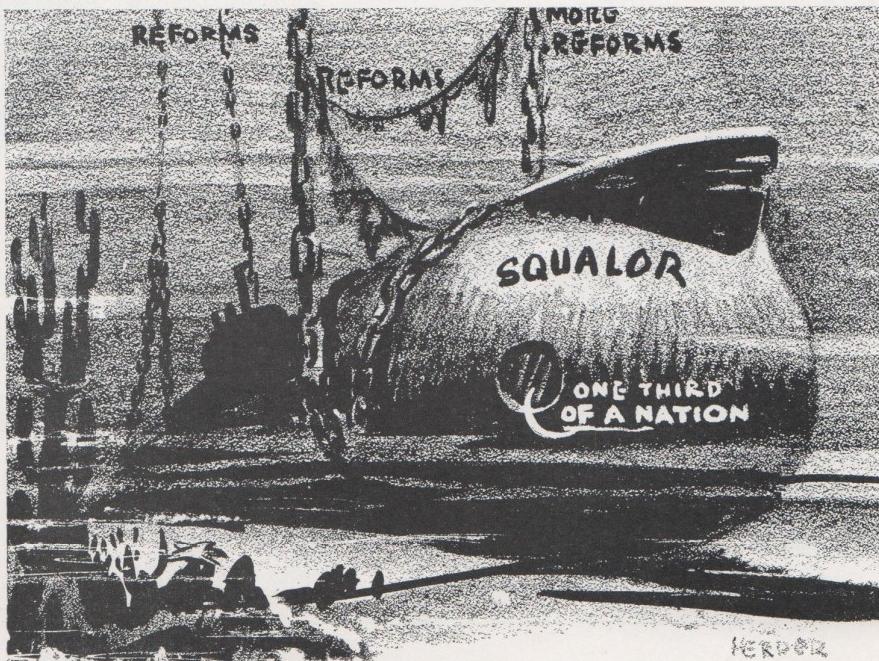
By the Grace of Capital.

The keynote of Labor Day speeches by clergymen, politicians, labor lieutenants of the capitalist class is ever the same. It is the biggest Lie of the Age, the lie that wealth is the joint product of Brother Capital and Brother Labor, that is, of the capitalist class and the working class; that the interests of both are identical, that the two can and should live in harmony, peace and brotherhood, and that the aim of the Labor Movement is to maintain that harmonious equilibrium and thus perpetuate the capitalist wage system by securing for the workers "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" by means of an "equitable division" of that "joint product of Brother Capital and Brother Labor."

—ERIC HASS



Weekly People, September 2, 1939



Weekly People, June 10, 1939

SIX MONTHS TO RAISE THE 'SQUALUS'

But the submerged "third of a nation" haven't been raised in ten years.

"Given the private ownership of combined elements of production, and the capitalist class will congest ever more into its own hands the wealth of the land, while the working class must sink to ever deeper depths of poverty and dependence, every mechanical improvement only giving fresh impetus to the exaltation of the capitalist class and to the degradation of the workingman."

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, April 9, 1938

....for the innocent victims . . . the Holy See is more than ever sorry, while it sends words of moderation and piety to lessen as much as possible the horrors of war.

—PIUS XI.

*

Lifting up our heart to the Lord we give sincere thanks with Your Excellency for Spain's desired Catholic victory.

—PIUS XII to Franco.

*

To the victorious Generalissimo the newly appointed American Ambassador transmitted, on June 15, 1939, President Roosevelt's "assurance of his high esteem and best wishes for the personal happiness of your excellency and the welfare of the Spanish people."



Weekly People, April 22, 1939

THREE WISE MEN

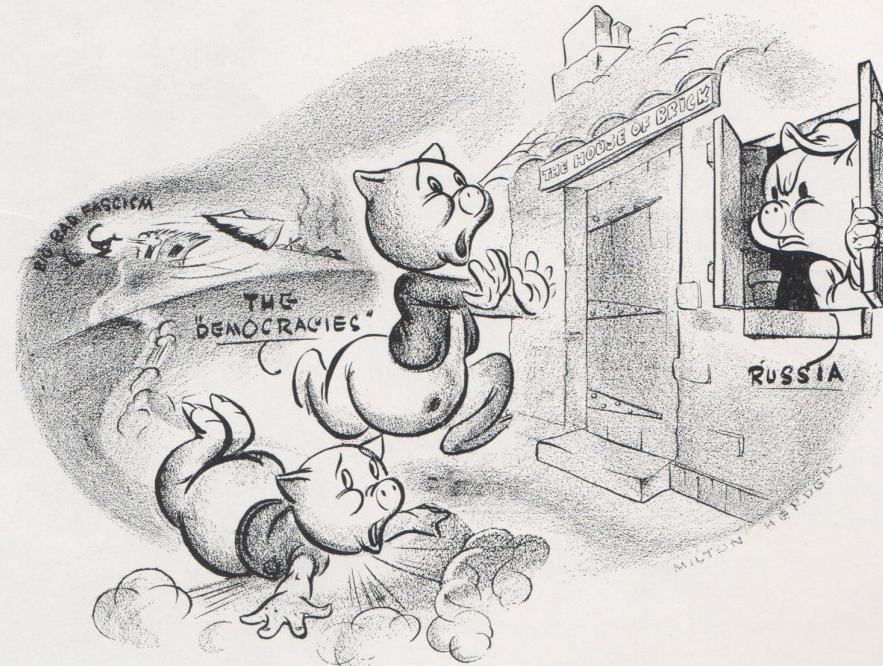
Fascism, Nazism represent capitalism degenerate, with the modification logical to the European setting. Accordingly, they represent also, in effect, an aborted social revolution. Where a social revolution is aborted, the "man on horseback" is the logical answer. But the "man on horseback" necessarily must represent the dominant reactionary interests—i.e., the interests of Industrial Feudalism—and, therefore, constitute the alternative to, and negation of, the Proletarian Revolution, which everywhere presents itself as the dreaded specter, the supreme judge and "executioner" of capitalism, and the capitalist class as such. Precisely for this reason the "democratic powers," the "free nations," fear the Marxian Socialist movement infinitely more than they fear Fascism. They would much rather witness the Nazi hegemony of Europe than the triumph of the Proletarian Revolution. However much they dread war, they dread Marxian Socialism even more. Of the Fascist powers the same thing may be said, though perhaps in reverse order: However much they dread or hate Marxian Socialism, they dread war even more if that war threatens to become a universal war. For, like their "democratic" rivals, they know that a world war means their finish, with the prospect of the triumph of the Proletarian Revolution.

—ARNOLD PETERSEN.



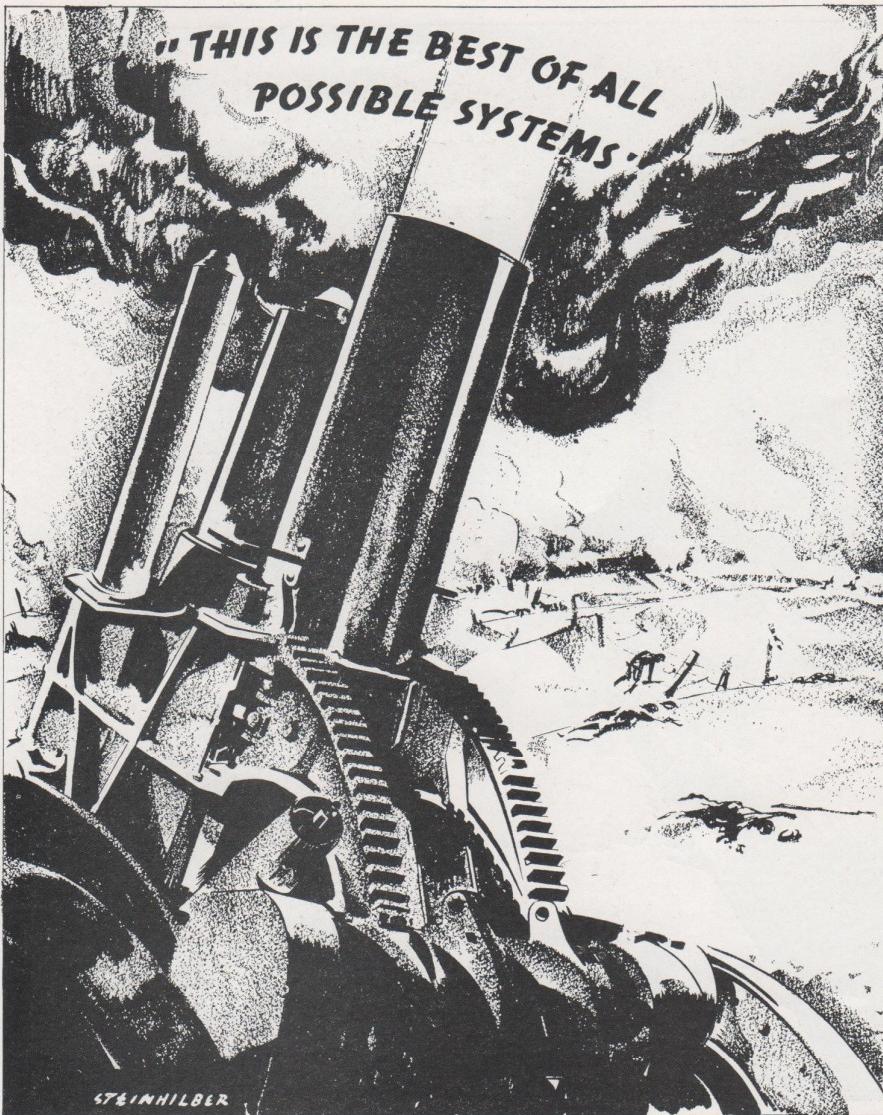
Weekly People, March 11, 1939

A SLICE FOR EACH



B-BETTER H-HELP US
GET 'IM' OR HE'LL
B-BLOW YOURS
DOWN TOO!

Weekly People, June 3, 1939



Weekly People, November 4, 1939

CURE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

By and large, war seems to be regaining the biologic function once claimed for it, of tending to eliminate in considerable numbers those elements of the population least adapted to contemporary culture. It is a drastic and horrible method of slum clearance, but it looks as if it is a method.

—Toronto SATURDAY NIGHT, May 7, 1938.

*

The Nation that the land's Plutocracy is foe to, and is arming against, is our own Nation's vitals—its Working Class.

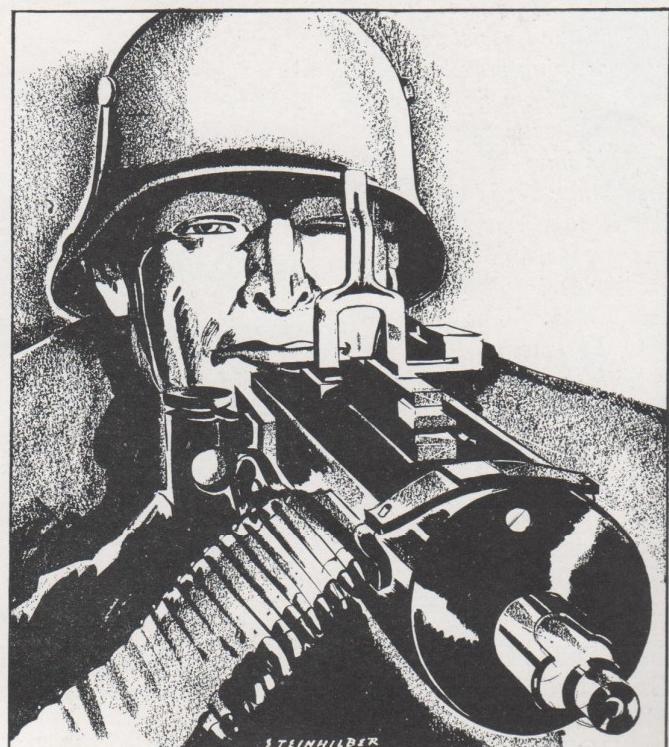
—DE LEON.

Here the cat is all out, from whiskered nose to tasseled tail. Commercialism deals in war as it deals in potatoes, rum, bibles, etc. It matters not that the effect of owning a navy is to render a nation readier for war; what of it? War feeds commerce, commerce feeds war, and the end of the song is larger wealth for those to luxuriate in who neither bleed on the battle-fields nor swelter on the industrial fields of toil.

*

Capitalism means war; one plank of capitalism means the whole of capitalism. To oppose one plank only is to leave all others standing, and thus render abortive all seeming success against the monster.

—DE LEON.



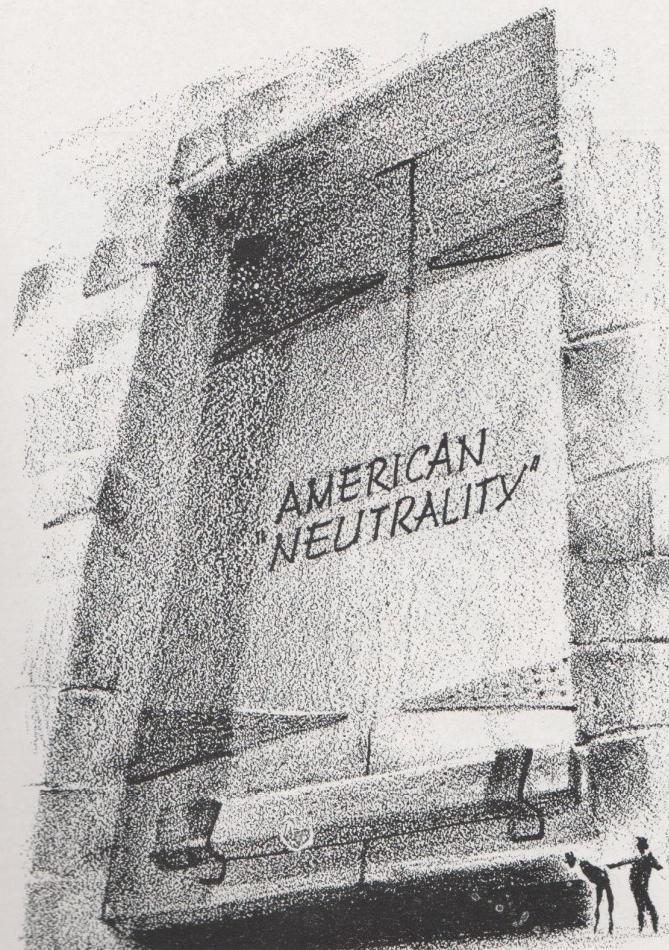
Weekly People, September 23, 1939

It may be theoretically possible that unemployment some day may no longer have a place in our economic picture. But that day won't happen in your lifetime or mine . . . there is no use quarreling with the facts.

—HARRY HOPKINS.

Ten million potential workers and a total of possibly 30,000,000 people are outside the circle of work, production and income. They are not only a burden—they are an economic loss—to speak with grim realism, the country would be relatively prosperous, if they were annihilated.

—MAGAZINE OF WALL STREET.



Weekly People, October 14, 1939



Weekly People, June 17, 1939

"OH, WE LEFT THAT TO LET
SOME TRADE IN!"

You are correct in believing our desires to be first of all to serve the cause of the Allies, and at the same time the commercial interests of our own country, these two objects being, in our judgment, supplementary to each other.

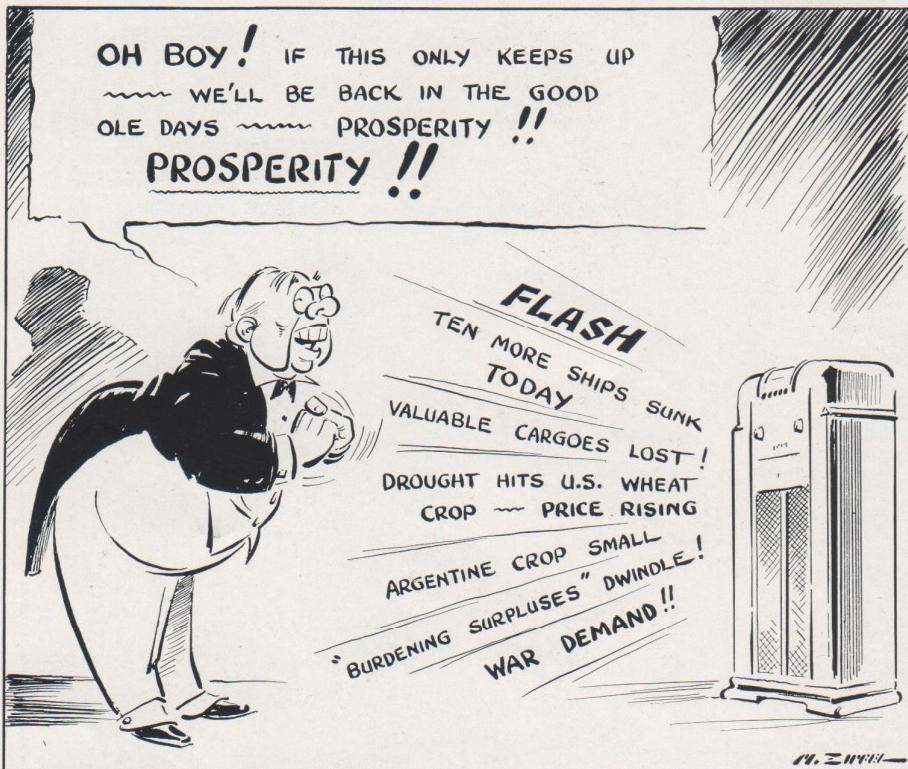
—THOMAS W. LAMONT.
(Of J. P. Morgan & Co., to a Paris partner, Jan. 29, 1917.)

Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted.

—WALTER HINES PAGE.
(Ambassador to England, to Woodrow Wilson, March 5, 1917.)

. . . the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared.

—U.S. CONGRESS.
(Joint Resolution, April 6, 1917.)



Weekly People, December 30, 1939

In time of war, great discretionary powers are constantly given to the executive magistrate. Constant apprehension of war has the same tendency to render the head too large for the body. A standing military force with an overgrown executive will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defense against a foreign danger have ever been the instruments of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite a war, whenever a revolt was apprehended.

—JAMES MADISON.

This social system of today, kept in constant ferment to defend itself against the disorders that rise out of its own lap, is compelled perpetually to strengthen force against force; in this century of unlimited competition and over-production, there is also competition among armies and an over-production of militarism; industry itself being a battle, war becomes the leading, the most feverish of all industries.

—JEAN JAURES.

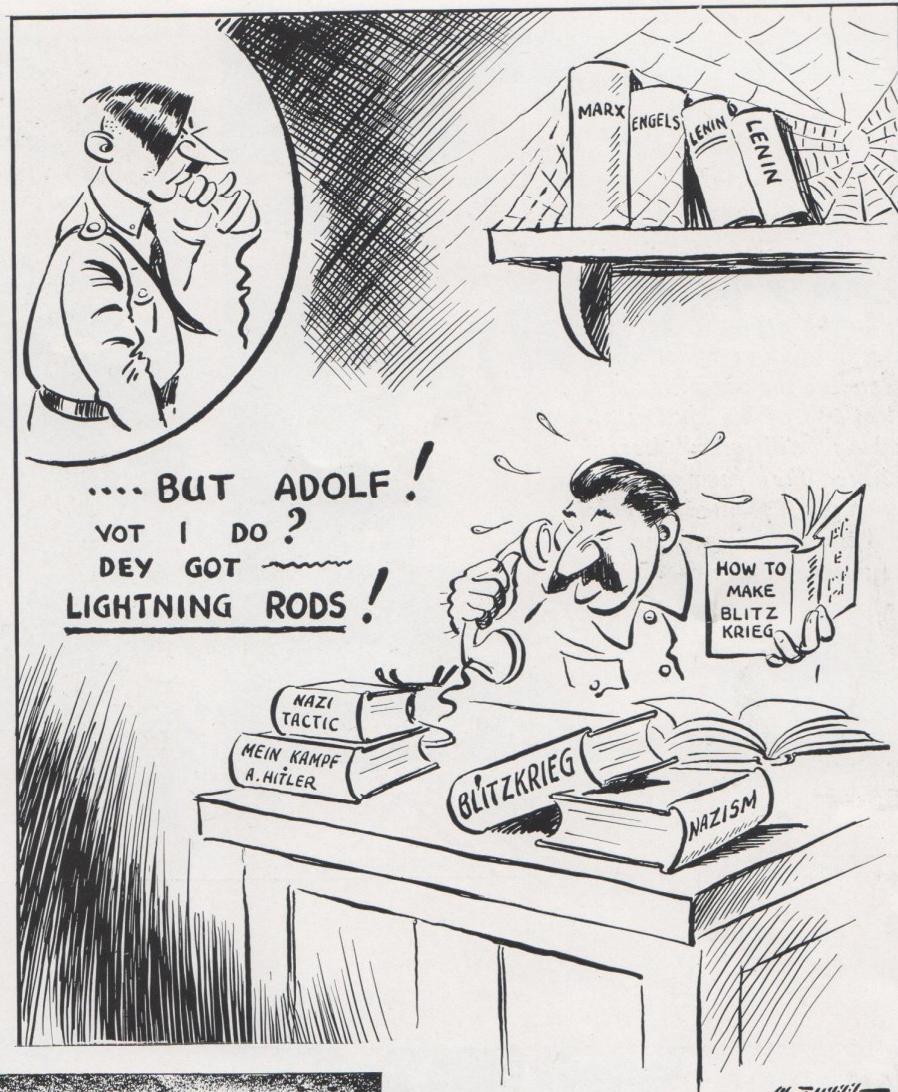


Weekly People, November 18, 1939

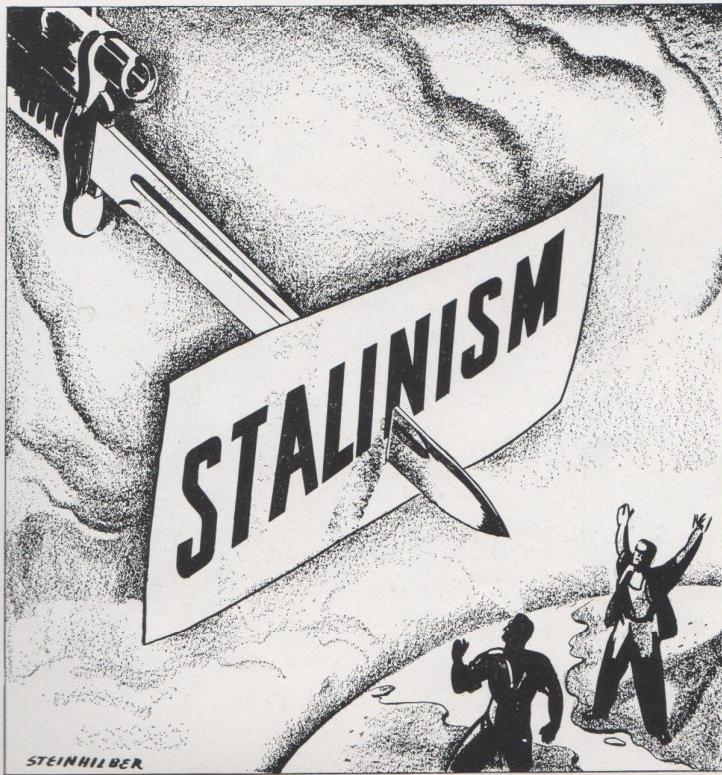
FIRST RECRUITS — FRONT LINE.

The bona fide Movement of Labor may not "adopt" the methods of the capitalist class in the class war. The Labor Movement must, on the contrary, place itself on the highest plane civilization has reached. It must insist upon the enforcement of civilized methods, and it must do so in the way that civilized man does.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, January 27, 1940



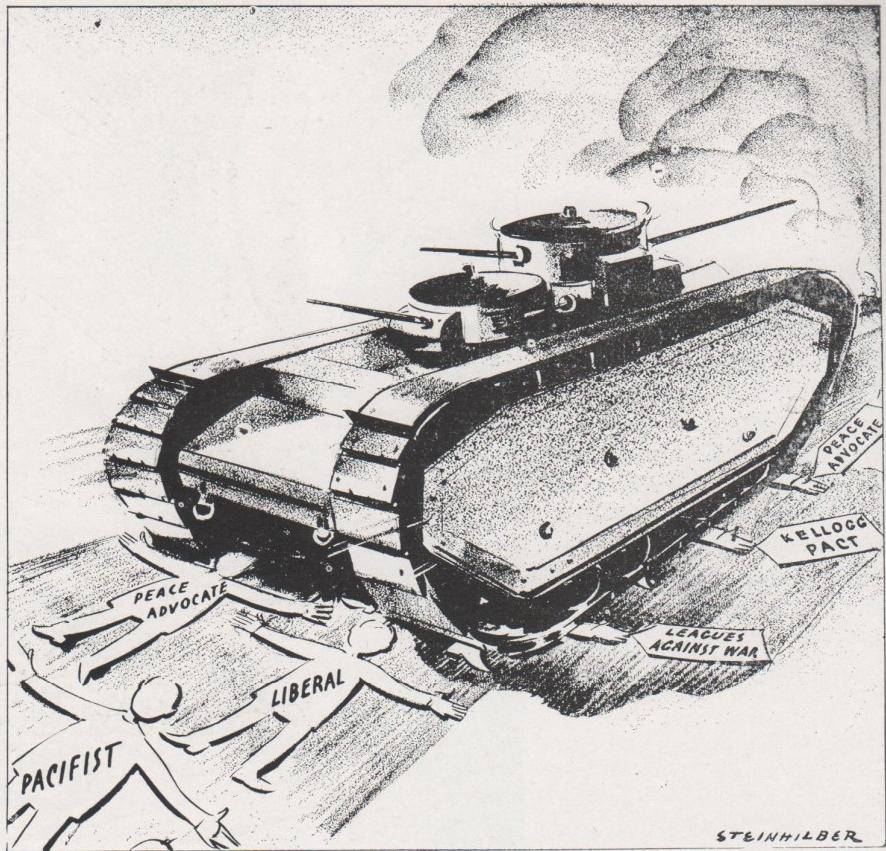
Weekly People, January 20, 1940

Socialism cannot be imposed by force from without, and least of all upon a country not ready for it, or unwilling to accept it. It can no more be done than one can force Socialism "down the throat" of a person unwilling to accept it. In either case revulsion against Socialism is the result, and thereby great harm is done to the cause of Socialism. . . . The liberation of a nation's oppressed class must proceed from within. Each nation's proletariat must settle its accounts with its own ruling class. The emancipation of the working class must be, eventually will be, through the classconscious efforts of the workers themselves.

—ARNOLD PETERSEN.

When Bryan attacks "militarism" and yet upholds the capitalist system, he is fighting an effect while defending the cause. He and all others of his kind in attacking "militarism" merely imitate the farmer who knowingly planted cockle seed and then complained at the nature of the crop.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, October 7, 1939



Weekly People, September 16, 1939

"SPECIAL DELIVERY."

President Roosevelt pleads with belligerents not to bomb women and children

—NEWS ITEM.

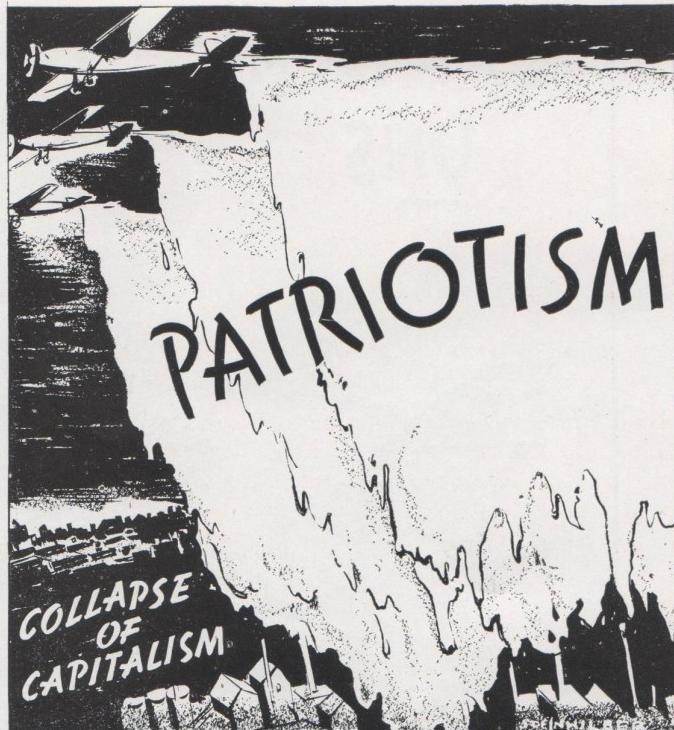
Punchinello-like the political heads of the Capitalist Class move as their masters, the Capitalist Class, pull the strings. According as the strings are pulled, Presidents and Kings, Congresses and Parliaments, shut their eyes to infractions of the law, or rattle their sabres. Obedient to capitalist dictation laws are superseded, or passed; and war clouds are pulled upon the scene, or pulled off.

—DE LEON.

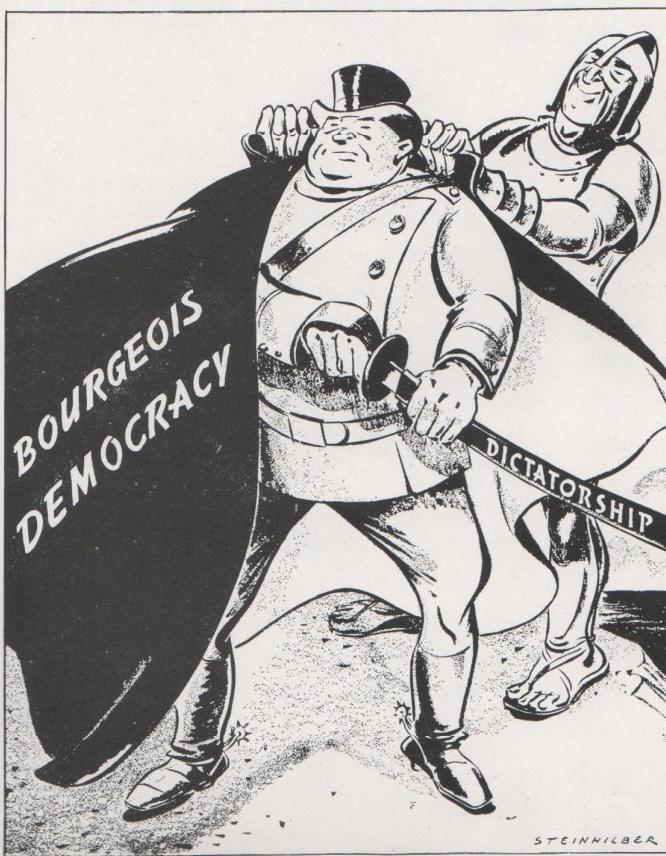
"THE SMOKE SCREEN."

A foreign war ever has been the refuge of tyrants from the danger of turbulent elements at home. To simply massacre these, and thus get rid of them, is no easy task, however absolute the power of the tyrant. Local and isolated massacres may be indulged in and may not shock the public conscience; but they are inadequate. A foreign war meets all the requirements of the case. By means of a generous beating of the drum patriotic the very domestic elements considered dangerous at home are lured into the army; war, once engaged in, the carnage among these is looked upon as an incident of war; and, whatever the issue of the war the tyrant that brought it on wins his real point: the turbulent elements that alarmed him are decimated.... Just such motives as these are back of the war wave we are now experiencing, and they it is that give it the persistence it has.

— DE LEON.



Weekly People, September 23, 1939

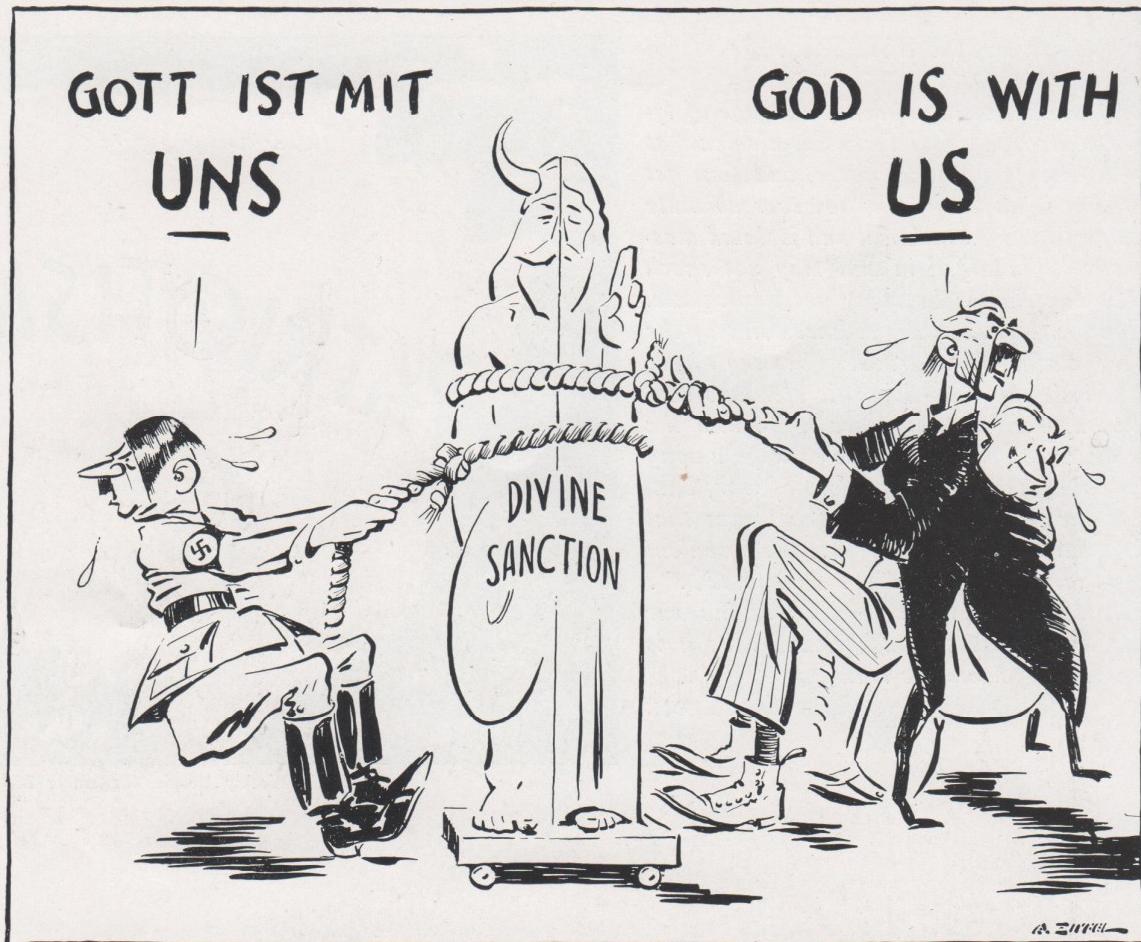


Weekly People, September 16, 1939

REMOVING THE CLOAK!

But the greater the effort of the government and the bourgeoisie of all countries to disunite the workers and pit them against one another, the more ferociously they use for this lofty purpose a system of martial law and military censorship (which measures, even now, in time of war, are more successful against the "enemy within" than against the enemy without), the more urgent is the duty of the classconscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its Socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism of the "patriotic" bourgeois cliques of all countries.

—ERIC HASS.

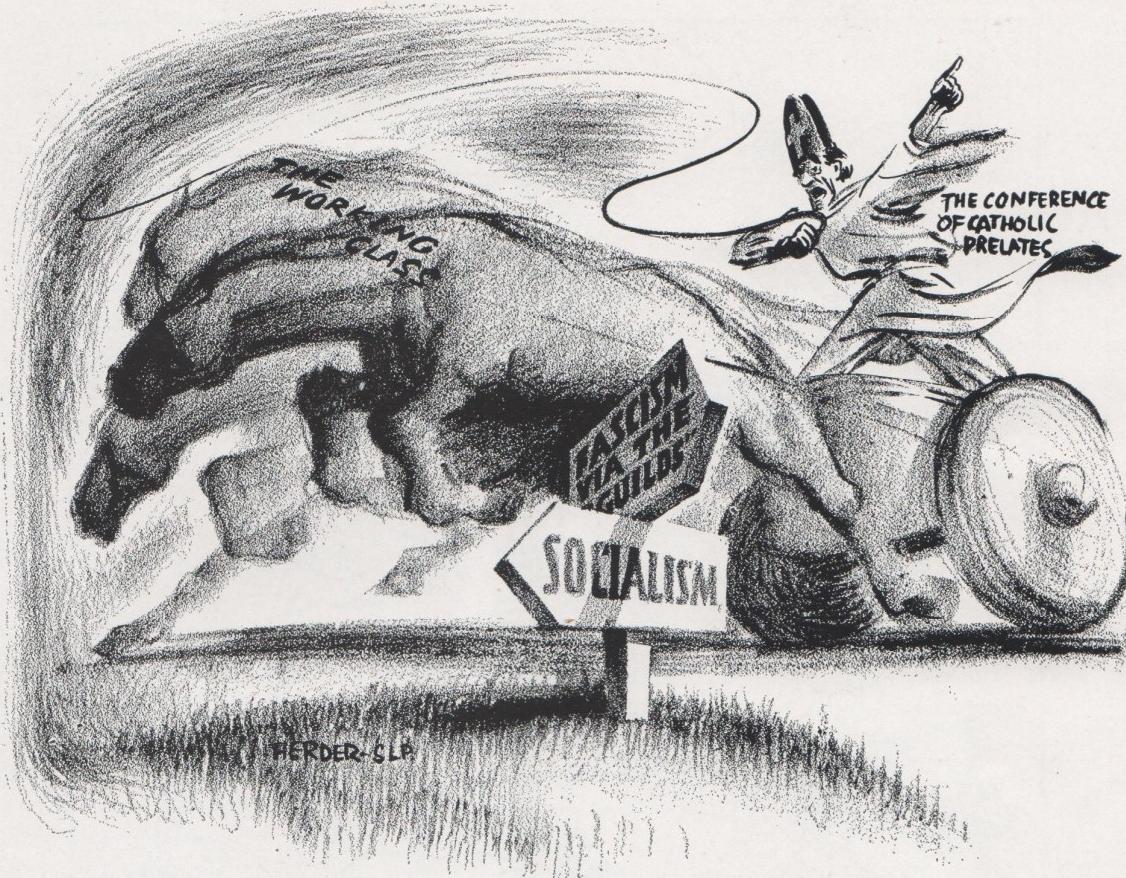


Weekly People, March 16, 1940

DRUG OF WAR

Thus, while the bourgeois declaim peace, yet manufacture war; while clericalists pray with lip-service devotion for human brotherhood, yet bless the weapons of fratricidal strife; while the revived spirit of Napoleon III—who proclaimed “The Empire means peace,” yet raided Italy and Mexico—has been reincarnated in a Big-Stick Roosevelt, who declares “The Progressive party is peace” [or Franklin Delano Roosevelt who declares, “we are all for peace,” yet strains to equip the belligerents with money and guns];—while, in short, at one side of the line Hypocrisy reigns supreme, Slaughter being promoted under the pretenses of peace, it is on the other side of the line, in the Socialist camp only, that peace is a cardinal principle, a religion, a goal earnestly, sincerely and devoutly pursued with all the intelligence at the command of the race.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, February 24, 1940

"NO—NO—THIS WAY!"



Pius XII

...the great political conflict that is coming to a head is wiping out all intermediary political expressions and is bound to leave extant just two—the two types of the two opposing forces—the Socialist political body as the type of the forces that make for progress, hence freedom; and the Roman Catholic equally political body as the type of the forces that make for retrogression, hence slavery. These two political bodies will attract, each its own affinities.

—DE LEON.



Weekly People, April 29, 1939

Soil and Roots of the Socialist Labor Party

(Continued.)

perceived the absurd naivete of his Single Tax notion.

George did not ask these questions, his intellect and understanding of the problem being what they were. However, he was nominated for mayor on the Labor ticket in 1886. We are familiar with the circumstances which brought Daniel De Leon into this campaign as an active supporter of Henry George. Commons, in his work, "History of Labor in the United States," has an illuminating account of what he calls "the memorable campaign [of 1886]," and from it I quote this brief passage:

"On October 1 a mass meeting was held in Chickering Hall of several thousand radical middle-class and professional people to ratify George's candidacy. Among those who took part in its debates were Professor Daniel De Leon and Father McGlynn."

The Democratic party, then as now divided into Tammanyites and anti-Tammanyites, sank their differences and nominated a wealthy iron manufacturer, Abram S. Hewitt, while the Republican party (vigorously waving "the bloody shirt"—i.e., the dead Civil War issues) nominated a young upstart who then was even more of a windbag and phrasemonger than he became later, to wit, none other than Teddy Roosevelt I! Hewitt, of course, was elected. The total vote cast was in round numbers 220,000, of which George (running second, with T. R. a poor third) received about 70,000 votes. In passing it is of interest to note that the comic weekly, *Puck*, published and supported by a group that was violently anti-George, and contemptuous of the Republican corruptionists, or spoilsman, as the paper called them—this *Puck* printed a cartoon shortly after the campaign, depicting the Republican politicians (including young Teddy I, Depew, Cabot Lodge, and others) busily engaged in putting a huge suit of armor on a puny-looking Roosevelt, the title of the cartoon being:

"Little Roosevelt!!!—The Grand Old Party Must Be Hard-Up!"

The cartoon was accompanied with this jingle:

"The old belated party knights
Equip their hero for the fray—
Yes, they who fought for equal rights,
Through all the nation's darkest day,*

Their earliest steps would now retrace,
And bring the spoilsman's slavery back—
Their only objects pay and place—
Their champion—a jumping-jack."

These are harsh words about the terrible Teddy, he who later foully slandered the noble Tom Paine by referring to him as "a dirty little Atheist." *Puck* also referred to Teddy I as one who "was quite willing [in 1886] to incur the risk of delivering the city over to the hands of the anarchists and socialists." In view of subsequent history, *Puck's* horoscope of the "guileless" Teddy (who is described as "innocent, simple and confiding in character") is interesting: "You are not [said *Puck* to Roosevelt] the timber of which Presidents are made, even if you were not, at present, disqualified from the office by the harsh law which decrees that the beautiful bloom of adolescence must be brushed from the cheek of manhood ere the doors of the White House open to the aspirant." Actually, as we know, *Puck* guessed wrong, although it could hardly have been expected of the paper to foresee that the assassination of a President was to catapult the "jumping-jack" into the Presidential chair some thirteen years later!

If the 1886 campaign was virulent, the 1887 campaign was even more so. Following the defeat of 1886, Henry George and his allies set to work to repair fences, and to strengthen their movement. Tentative arrangements for a permanent party were made, the name selected being the United Labor Party.* A county convention was called for January 6, 1887. At this convention of 340 delegates (of which 320 were wage earners), there were present among the delegates Daniel De Leon, Lucien Sanial and Hugo Vogt, all of whom were to play significant parts in the post-1890 Socialist Labor Party.

These three were placed on the important committee on organization. The platform and party name, United Labor Party, previously agreed upon tentatively, were reaffirmed, and it was stipulated that none should be eligible to membership unless he had "severed all connections with all other political parties, organizations and clubs." (Quoted by Commons from the *New York Leader*, January 22, 1887.) On May 5, 1887, a joint call was issued for a state convention at Syracuse on August 17, the

*In part I have drawn upon Commons's work for certain data presented here.

three issues stressed in the call being taxation of land values (George's Single Tax), currency reform, and government ownership of railways. The "planks" of the Socialistic Labor Party were completely ignored, which led to a rumpus, culminating in the expulsion of the "Socialistic" representatives in the United Labor Party on the ground that they were members of another political party—that is, the Socialistic Labor Party! As if George & Co. did not know this from the very beginning!

Section New York of the Socialistic Labor Party held a meeting, declaring that they were really not a political party at all—that is, that the party was a political party only in a very strict Pickwickian sense! That argument smells of Alexander Jonas and the *Volkszeitung* crew—definitely! Well, it didn't work—the "Socialistic" gentlemen were excluded at the Syracuse state convention, August 17, 1887. The spokesmen for the "Socialists" included one Sergius E. Schevitsch, a Russian reputed to be of noble birth, and one of those editors of the *Volkszeitung* of whom Frederick Engels spoke so contemptuously.* The "Socialists" countered by organizing another "Labor" party, the Progressive Labor Party, which in fact was simply the Socialistic Labor Party under another name, and which was quietly laid on the shelf a few months later. The Henry George group adopted a Single Tax platform, nominated George for Secretary of State, and the political battle was on.

VI.

Earlier in the year of 1887 Father McGlynn, who had defied the Catholic hierarchy (not in matters of religion, but in matters entirely politi-

*Schevitsch had married a Countess Helena von Racowitza, who, as Helena von Doenniges, played such an important role in the life of Ferdinand Lassalle, being, in fact, the cause of his untimely death. Schevitsch returned to Europe in 1901, eventually arriving in Germany where he planned to settle. Someone started a rumor that Schevitsch was a Russian spy, and apparently the German Social-Democrats believed that he was one, though the facts as to his guilt or innocence do not ever seem to have been fully established. The late Morris Hillquit claims to have secured the adoption of a resolution at "a general party meeting" in New York in which the innocence and good character of Schevitsch were certified. There is something peculiar about Hillquit's reference to his part in this affair. He said that it fell to him, "a mere youngster," to take the initiative in clearing Schevitsch. Since the incident took place in 1901 or later, it means that Hillquit was then a "mere youngster" of 32 years! Moreover, the "general party meeting" must have been a meeting of the then recently organized Socialist party, which officially could have had no knowledge of Schevitsch's record while a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and therefore was no more competent to pass on the case than any other group of whatever political complexion. Hillquit also says that the charges against Schevitsch (originally published in the German party organ, *Vorwaerts*) "were practically withdrawn [by the editor of the *Vorwaerts*]." Now, the phrase "practically withdrawn," especially employed by a lawyer, and above all by such a lawyer as Hillquit, can only mean that the charges were in fact *not* withdrawn. Be this as it may, the career of Schevitsch as a Socialist was finished in Germany even as it had been previously finished in the United States. It is reported that he and his wife died in a mutual suicide pact in the year 1912.

cal and economic), had organized what he called the Anti-Poverty Society, based generally on the Single Tax theory, with a quasi-religious admixture. Its large membership was composed mainly of Father McGlynn's Irish co-religionists who, when McGlynn was excommunicated following his second refusal to go to Rome to explain himself, organized a protest parade in which it is reported 25,000 took part, overwhelmingly Irish Catholic wage workers. The Catholic hierarchy raged and raved in unison with the rest of the propertied elements who thought themselves menaced by the McGlynn-George economic heresies—fatuous delusions we would call them.

The pages of *Puck*, the comic weekly (it was at that time really a political journal, and only incidentally a comic paper), are revealing in the light they throw on that turbulent campaign of 1887, and also because of the utter contempt for, and refreshing disrespect shown to, the Catholic hierarchy, including the Pope. If a bourgeois journal of today would dare to manifest one-tenth the contempt for the Ultramontane machine which *Puck* displayed, its days would be numbered. Certainly the arrogance and insolent anti-American propaganda of a Coughlin would in the eighties have called forth the strongest rebuffs, if they would not have provoked physical violence against the howling clerical demagogue.

It is one of the characteristics of the Roman Catholic political machine, particularly in the United States today, that while it will, and does, attack anything or anyone conceived by it to be undesirable, regardless of the truth or all the facts in the case, a terrific howl is instantly raised if but one timid question is asked concerning the church or its priesthood—a question relating to political or economic matters, of course—and whining complaints are made about attacking religion and the holy church! Well, the spirit of the eighties was different, and that fact, among others, measures the change that has taken place in matters libertarian during the past fifty-odd years. One of the reasons for the boldness of the press of that period in this respect was, of course, that the Roman Catholic Church as yet was relatively weak in the United States, unable to apply that terrific pressure in political and economic matters which is one of the commonplaces of our times.

Puck, as stated, represented the typical capitalist viewpoint of its day—anti-plutocratic, anti-labor (specifically, and with violent emphasis, anti-labor union), anti-Henry George, and anti-Catholic hierarchy. In a series of brilliant and powerful cartoons, and in pithy editorial paragraphs, the magazine's bias was presented on all these questions.

Looking at these cartoons today, still breathing, it seems, with full life, one feels as if suddenly the curtain of the past is drawn aside, and that one again walks the streets of New York of the eighties, and that one hears the many battle-cries and watches the great and near-great personages tripping along the streets, or debating hotly in the halls, of that, relatively, "little, old New York."

As I said, during the particular year of 1887 this thoroughly representative bourgeois magazine had three chief "pet aversions." It was violent on all three. The argument against labor unions is the classic one—by joining a union the worker becomes a slave and a tithe-payer to the union bosses. As one of the paper's rhymesters said:

"For I am one of the Bosses—
Work not with my hands, but my jaws;
Thrive best on the workmen's losses—
When he strikes, my money I draw."

By joining the union the worker loses his individual liberty (which capitalism, of course, carefully guards and maintains for him!), and his social and economic advancement, it is argued, depends entirely upon his individual efforts. In a day when Saturday half-holidays were a startling, almost incredible idea, *Puck* argued that half-day on Saturday would, of course, mean that the worker would get paid only five and a half days, and it belabored the point with that would-be scientific asininity which characterizes all discourses on capital and labor by bourgeois commentators.

A double-page, colored cartoon, entitled "The New Ally of the Knights of Labor—Does the Catholic Church Sanction Mob Law?" shows a crowd of workers armed with bricks, which they are hurling at a noble-looking workingman who lies bleeding on the ground, his tools scattered about him. He is a scab. In the center of the street a group of priests, headed by the then Archbishop, later Cardinal, Gibbons, marches along, Gibbons with arms outstretched in the posture of blessing the striking workers who are stoning the scab. The workers carry such signs and banners as: "The injury of one is the concern of all," "Death to the scab," "Knights of Labor," with a saloon, of course, in the background to convey the suggestion of drunkenness, etc., on the part of the strikers, as contrasted with the sobriety, thrift and general, all-around nobility of the scab. Editorially the magazine accuses the Catholic Church of bidding for the "labor vote," and chides Gibbons for his endorsement of the Knights of Labor. Referring to Cardinal Manning of England, *Puck* observed:

"But Cardinal Manning, not having the knowl-

edge of 'practical politics' of his American coadjutor, has frankly stated, in his missive, that he wants the Knights of Labor to help him in spreading the power of the Romish church in America!"

Another cartoon shows Father McGlynn and Archbishop Corrigan engaged in a pugilistic bout with Pope Leo XIII (made to look like a scarecrow) seated on the right, looking apprehensive lest his man (Corrigan) lose, and holding a bottle labeled "St. Peter's Tonic," while Henry George, in clerical robes, stands on the left, equally apprehensive for his man, McGlynn, and also holding a bottle, labeled "Anti-Poverty Elixir." Still another cartoon shows Pope Leo XIII in a rage, his tiara rolling on the ground, while he brandishes one of his slippers at McGlynn (who is comfortably seated on a book titled "H. George's Theories"), the slipper bearing the legend "Excommunication." Still another depicts the struggle between the Georgeites and the "Socialists," the "Socialists" being personified in a bewhiskered beer barrel in front of "Socialist Headquarters" which flies a flag with the lettering: "McGlynn is ausgespielt," while McGlynn, portrayed as a whisky bottle, is shown swinging a stick at Mr. Beerbarrel. The whisky bottle torso of McGlynn bears the label: "Irish Whisky, McGlynn's Brand," and the whole thing is captioned: "I told you so—German Beer and Irish Whisky will never mix!" Well, that's one way of explaining the historic struggle of 1886-1887, to which the serious historians, Commons and Associates, devote many pages! And numerous other cartoons show Henry George offering his "Anti-poverty" quack medicine, while others convey suggestions for exterminating violently all Socialists, anarchists, single taxers and labor leaders!

Finally, to vary the monotony perhaps, we note two cartoons which serve to remind us that in certain essentials it is the same old capitalist world, though fifty years have gone by, and two whole generations have sunk into their graves. One shows the British lion sprawling all over the map, with President Grover Cleveland holding back the beast by its tail, nobly supported by an army of American capitalists, while a rather lean-looking eagle (dressed as the traditional Uncle Sam) is carrying a bundle labeled "Commerce," and trying to get ahead of the outraged lion! Yet another, sardonically reminiscent of the present, shows Bismarck as the full moon labeled "Peace," shining on the troubled European waters, with predatory beasts on all sides ready to jump on a wee mouse, the beasts being designated Italy, Austria, Germany, France and Russia, the mouse representing Bulgaria which, the throne having become vacant, at that time was the prey being

stalked by the predatory European governmental beasts.

The political cartoons of a given period faithfully reflect the thoughts and *mores* of the age, and are a powerful aid to a later generation in reconstructing the period. It is so in this case, and having dwelt long and intimately with this subject, and the period of 60 or 70 years ago, through the records and pictorial presentation of the struggles of that time, one is apt to become possessed of the uncanny feeling that one has just stepped out of these dusty tomes to join the ghostly throng, and to fight the old battles over again with them.

VII.

The decade of the eighties also witnessed the rise of the American Federation of Labor, and the emergence out of obscurity of the foxy and utterly unscrupulous Samuel Gompers. Like a mole, Gompers seems mostly to have tunneled underground during this period, for there is comparatively little mention of him. Sammy was biding his time, meanwhile blowing not too hot this way, nor yet too cold that way. Some of his utterances of this early period have a "Socialistic" ring. De Leon used to say that no man in a public cause starts out with corrupt intent, but that circumstances and persistence in error affect the character and lead to corruption. It was

even so with Gompers, said De Leon. In the precise language of De Leon:

"There is that in errors of conduct that inevitably affects the character of him who indulges in them. However sincere he may be at first, bound he is to become crooked."

When the Knights of Labor declined, and with the overthrow (which De Leon effected), of its leader, so-called master workman, Terence Powderly, the organization virtually ceased to exist. As Commons says, when Powderly passed out of the picture he was succeeded (in 1893) by a farmer editor from Iowa, one James R. Sovereign (also eliminated later by De Leon's efforts), and with the election of this farmer editor "the national organization of the Knights took the final step away from the wage-earners' movement." Thereafter the evil days of Gompers and Gompersism began in earnest. However, in the eighties the position of Sam Gompers, in so far as he had at all active participation in public affairs, was, as Commons put it, "that of a sympathizing outsider"—sympathizing, that is, to both sides until he knew which way the cat would jump. On the issues projected by the George movement, during the fight in 1887, he cautiously spoke as follows:

"The labor movement, to succeed politically,



It's a Very Pretty Quarrel As It Stands—Protestants Can Afford to Smile Whoever Is the Victor

(*Father McGlynn and Archbishop Corrigan do battle while Henry George and Pope Leo XIII egg them on—to "Puck's" boundless delight.*)

must work for present and tangible results. While keeping in view a lofty ideal, we must advance toward it through practical steps, taken with intelligent regard for pressing needs. I believe with the most advanced thinkers as to ultimate ends *including the abolition of the wage-system.*" (Italics mine.)

This wicked heresy of abolishing "the wage-system" was quickly abandoned by Gompers, who later accepted, as the "lofty ideal" of the labor movement, "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," and who solemnly protested that capital and labor were, or should be, brothers, and that one just could not get along without the other. The crafty fox soon had no end of exits and entrances from and to his fox's lair. He was the perfect ideal of the capitalist labor lieutenant who, as the plutocratic *Herald Tribune* recently pointed out, must be, and is, a politician in order to be a good "labor leader," because (the plutocratic *Herald Tribune* says) "labor is so largely under bureaucratic control" of the political government—that is, labor is now virtually in a state of economic serfdom. We know that what the plutocratic journal says about the labor fakers being politicians is true; that it has been true since the rise of the labor faker (the modern plebs leader), and that it is true today, as a review of that illustrious row of labor lieutenants attest—Green, Lewis, Dubinsky, Hillman, Schlossberg, and the smaller fry—all of them serving the interests of capitalism faithfully, all of them attempting, and as yet largely succeeding, in keeping down the revolutionary spirit of the exploited workers, and all of them deep in capitalist politics.

And Sammy Gompers, though he protested "no politics in the union" until he was blue in the face, plunged himself and his American Federation of Labor into capitalist politics up to its neck—indeed, it was frequently completely submerged in the murky waters of capitalist politics. Whenever the capitalist class needed the herding of labor for purposes other than, or, rather, in addition to, those directly relating to craft union activities, Sammy was on the job. No less important personages than two Presidents of the United States have enthusiastically certified to this fact. Paying a glowing tribute to the "patriotic courage" of Gompers, and to his "statesman-like sense of what has to be done," President Wilson in November, 1917, said: "The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral." The workers have been called many names, and to be likened to horses may not have been the biggest insult offered them, and yet, one wonders. Certainly, Wilson made no secret of his belief that they

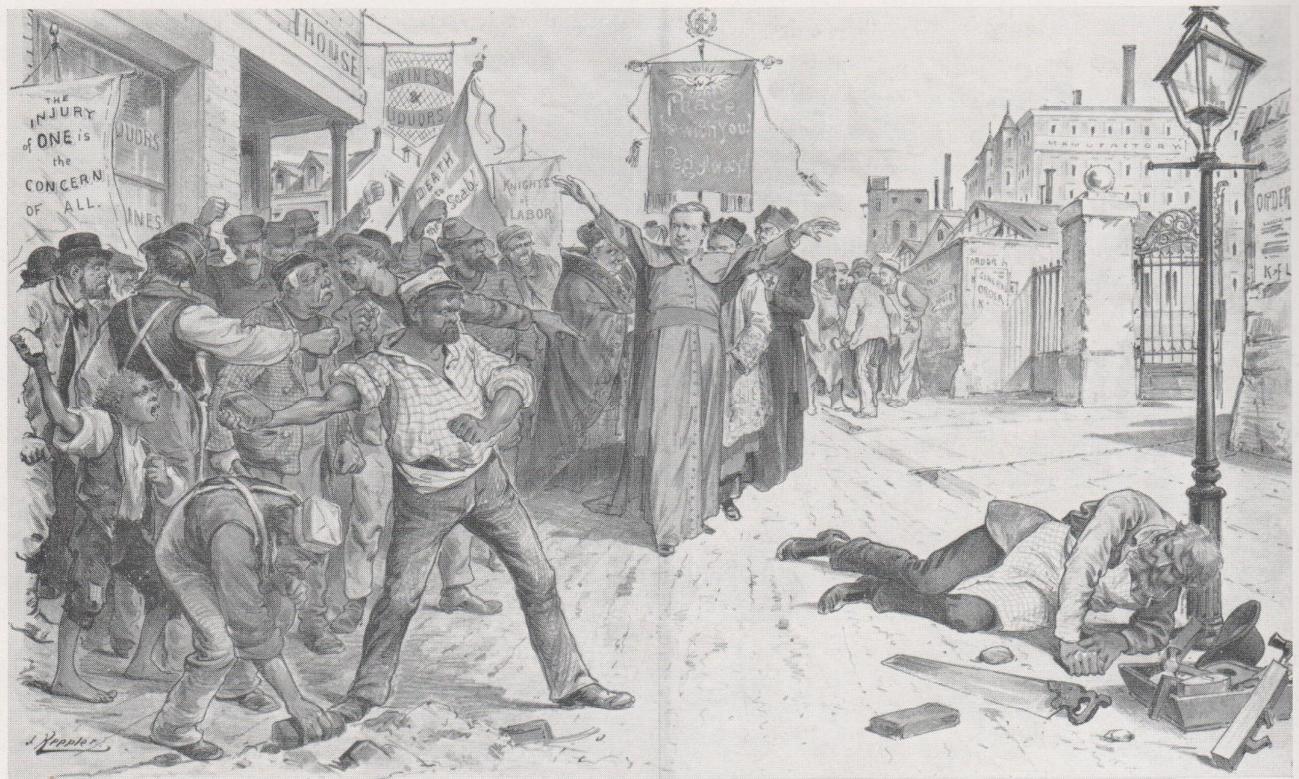
were beasts of burden who, if they did not pull in harness with brother capital (which means that they were carrying "brother capital" on their backs as part of the load), would be rounded up in a corral. President Roosevelt, who delivered a dedication address in 1933 when a monument to the memory of the sainted Sammy was unveiled in Washington, D.C., paid this spirited tribute to the old labor faker in recognition of his abilities to herd the "labor cattle" for the shambles. I quote from Mr. Roosevelt's address:

"But more than that, it was his [Gompers's] patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the union which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front."

Mr. Roosevelt might have added that Sam Gompers went even further, in that he took an active part as a recruiting sergeant for the military forces, persuading thousands of his misled dupes that it was their duty to slaughter or get slaughtered, in order that the Gompers brand of democracy might be made safe!

Through the twenty-four years of his activities in the Socialist Labor Party, De Leon fought this crafty labor faker and his plutocratic masters, earning the hatred of Gompers—a hatred that knew no limit—venomous, unscrupulous, unending. But that is another story.

Another active, and at times influential, force in the seventies and eighties was the anarchist movement—if one can describe as organic that which is essentially amorphous. The outstanding representatives of the anarchist gospel were A. R. Parson, August Spies, and the questionable Johann Most, an arrival from Germany, of whom Bebel said (in his "Memoirs") that although Most started out right "he went astray....and finally....ended in the United States as a drunkard...." There was also the "philosophical anarchist," Benjamin Tucker, born in Massachusetts of Yankee stock. The anarchists were dealt a crushing blow in the Haymarket tragedy, which, of course, also caused a set-back to the labor movement and in time gave impetus to the rise of labor fakers and unscrupulous "labor" politicians. We know now that those hanged at Chicago were innocent of the crimes of which they were convicted; we know that a desperate ruling class, seeing a splendid chance to crush the rising, rebellious labor movement, seized this chance, and made the most of it. But we also know that several of those hanged, in their anarchist folly, did everything possible to aid the capitalist class in achieving its end in this respect.



The New Ally of the Knights of Labor — Does the Catholic Church Sanction Mob Law?

What Cardinal Gibbons calls "Taking the part of the weaker"—
the Knights of Labor—"against the stronger"—the Scab.

(*"Puck," representing the reactionary, but anti-clerical, capitalists, glorifies the scab.*)

Parson and Spies were particularly violent in their avowals of anarchist theories of physical force, and in their expressions of contempt for the ballot, the peaceful means of settling the social conflict.

Benjamin Tucker, the "philosophical anarchist," whatever that may be, has been quoted as asserting that "every group of individuals has the right to oppress all mankind, if it has the power to do so." This is the good old philosophy of power politics, the essence of which is that might makes right. Thus anarchism proves itself the obverse, as capitalism is the reverse, of the same base coin of class rule and class exploitation. And that men should have died simply to prove that once more is the real tragedy of the "Haymarket affair."

VIII.

Such was the scene, and these were the actors, in this drama preceding the founding of the scientific Socialist Labor Party, which for fifty years has upheld the banner of working class emancipation, during half of which period it was directly guided by the great De Leon, while during the latter half it has been guided and inspired by his mighty spirit and

noble example. This was the soil of the modern American labor movement, and these the roots of that movement. It is not the purpose, nor is there space, to tell the story of the S.L.P. itself since 1890, nor the detailed activities of Daniel De Leon in the Party. That has been well done by others, even though the subject awaits thorough and coordinated treatment by those who not only understand and accept the principles of De Leonism, but who may be expected to have gained a better perspective of the battles, events and achievements of the S.L.P. and of De Leon than one might reasonably expect to find in those who fought side by side with De Leon, and who themselves participated in these achievements, or temporary defeats, as the case might be. The record is there for all to read, and it is a record of which to be proud.

Out of chaos, De Leon and the S.L.P. created order; out of confusion, De Leon and the S.L.P. forged coherency, direction, and clearly outlined goal. The goal and methods having been clearly defined (the integrated Industrial Union Republic of Labor and classconscious, revolutionary political and economic organizations of the workers), and

this goal and these methods having been found to check with every requirement of the modern emancipation movement, it remains for us to carry on the fight to reach through the wall of opposition to the workers themselves. It can be done; it *must* be done; it WILL be done. If we are few in numbers, that is no proof that we are wrong. On the contrary, the fact that we are as yet few in numbers, considering all the past and present factors and circumstances, is an assurance that we are holding to the correct line. For if we were to abandon or compromise our principles, we would soon attract in large numbers those who thrive only on compromises and temporizing. But if we were to do that, there would be no reason or excuse for our continued existence. Pursuing our great task along the true and tested line, we cannot fail. We know we are right—we know the workers will eventually come to an understanding of their class interests, and when that day comes (and it cannot be far off now), they will accept the program of the S.L.P. and translate it into requisite organizations, and in the spirit of De

Leonism electrify the organizations into *action*, leading to the sublime goal, the crowning glory of mankind, the Socialist Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, few or many, having paused for a moment at the fiftieth milestone of our Party's existence, we tighten our belts, and prepare for the fifty-first year, and as many thereafter as may follow. It is, as the American poet said, a case of—

“ . . . the obedient sphere
By bravery's simple gravitation drawn.”

And so, the Party rallies its forces to renewed battle, enjoining each militant in the land to—

Be the first to join the onset
Though you traverse flood and fire;
Smite relentless every foeman
That would foil your heart's desire.
Knightly faith, and Roman courage,
Live and hold the vantage still;
Valor wins the victor's garland—
You can conquer if you will.



At Last!

A determined effort to break England's hold on the commerce of the world, and give America a chance.

(Freetraders, the editors of "Puck" rejoice at lower tariffs.)

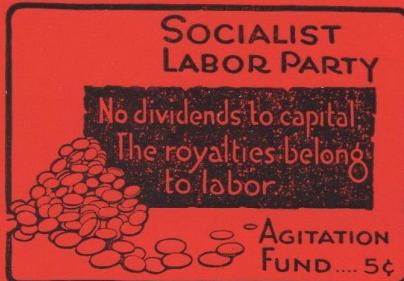
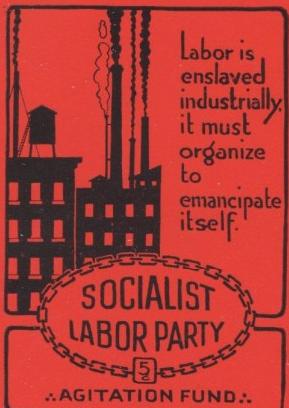
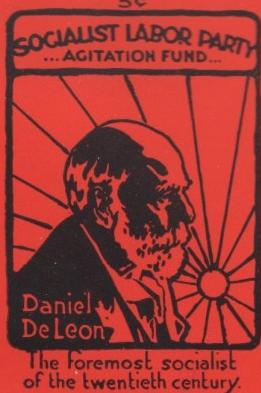
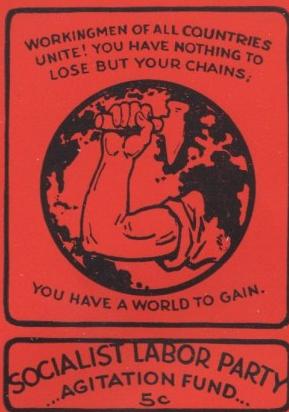
50 cents

Contents

Daniel De Leon	Frontispiece
Reproduced from a painting by Fred Precht	
The Soil and Roots of the Socialist Labor Party, by Arnold Petersen	3
"When First We Met," by Bertha C. De Leon	10
Satire, Weapon of Truth, by Eric Hass	12
A History in Caricature, <i>Selected Cartoons from the Weekly People</i>	15
S.L.P. Stamps and Seals	51

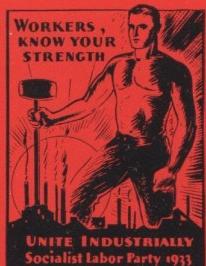
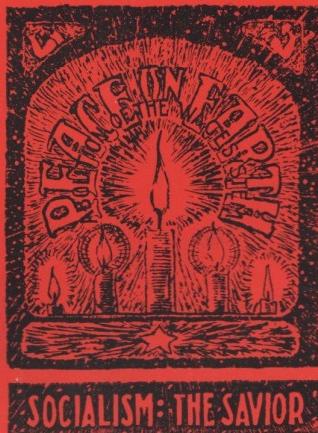
Published 1940 by the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA
61 Cliff Street, New York, N.Y.



Socialism is
federal industrial
government.
Capitalism is
private ownership
of industry.

**SOCIALIST
LABOR PARTY
AGITATION FUND
5¢**



Examples of S.L.P. Seals and Agitation Stamps.

The first group of six stamps, originally printed in three colors, were issued as agitation stamps during the National Campaign of 1916. The others (with the exception of the Weekly People Club stamp) represent Christmas Seals for the years (beginning with the Christmas Candle

design of 1929, by Sidney Armer), 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933, these latter designed by Walter Steinhilber, and all originally printed in two colors on colored stock.

